

JPRS-NEA-93-083
21 July 1993



JPRS Report

Near East & South Asia

PAKISTAN

Near East & South Asia

PAKISTAN

JPRS-NEA-93-083

CONTENTS

21 July 1993

POLITICAL

International Affairs

U.S. Role in Political Turmoil Claimed [JANG 5 May]	1
Rejection of U.S. Dictation Advocated [NAWA-I-WAQT 8 May]	2
Major Shift in U.S. Interests, Views Seen [DAWN 12 May]	3
Panel Reviews Relations With U.S. [NAWA-I-WAQT 14 May]	4
U.S. Intelligence Said Fabricating to Further U.S. Interests [DAWN 15 May]	7
Articles View Continued U.S. Pressure on Terrorism Issue	9
Influenced by Indian Complaints [THE NATION 14 May]	9
Western Media Biased [THE NATION 14 May]	9
India Is Terrorist Too [THE NATION 8 May]	10
Scholars Condemn U.S. Policy [THE PAKISTAN TIMES 8 May]	11
U.S. Trained Terrorists [BUSINESS RECORDER 30 Apr]	16
U.S. Said 'Increasingly Hostile' on Terrorism Issue [HERALD 15 May]	16
EC Said Opposing Possible U.S. Terrorism Declaration [DAWN 15 May]	18
U.S. Seen Responsible for Strain With India [DAWN 17 May]	18
Mallot Assertions of U.S. Even-Handed Approach Questioned [DAWN 19 May]	19
Mallot Visit Criticized, U.S. Seen Issuing Threats [JANG 20 May]	20
U.S. Diplomatic Approach Termed 'Coercive' [THE NATION 20 May]	21
U.S. Pressure Over ISI Chief Claimed [DAWN 20 May]	23
U.S. Declared Public Enemy Number One [JANG 23 May]	24
Western Imperialism's Crusade Blamed for Political Turmoil	
[NIDA-I-KHILAFAT 24 May]	25
International Financial Institution's Demands Criticized [JANG 8 Jun]	25
U.S. Said Pursuing Own Agenda in Somalia [JASARAT 14 Jun]	26
Paper Condemns 'Double-Standards' of U.S. Foreign Policy [JANG 3 Jul]	26
JKLF Chairman Urges Further Muslim Support for Militants [THE NATION 25 Apr]	26
Establishment of Islamic Bloc Advocated [JASARAT 21 May]	27
China Pledges Continued Political, Military Support [DAWN 9 May]	29
Hindu-Zionist Collusion Claimed Threat to National Interests	
[THE PAKISTAN TIMES 21 May]	30
U.S. Media Said Biased, Part of Anti-Pakistan Campaign [NAWA-I-WAQT 9 Jun]	32
Paper Hails Pakistan's Move on Bosnia at UN [THE NATION 27 Jun]	33
Editorial Stresses Maintaining Independence of Policies [NAWA-I-WAQT 27 Jun]	34
Articles Declare U.S. Intentions Sinister	34
OIC Considers Declaration [AMN 27 Apr]	34
Conspiracy Against the Islamic World [NAWA-I-WAQT 7 May]	34
Chief Supporter of Terrorists [JASARAT 30 Apr]	35

Regional Affairs

OIC Said Considering Sanctions Against India [JANG 27 Apr]	36
Commentaries Hail Islamic Conference Support on Kashmir	36
Foreign Policy Success [THE PAKISTAN TIMES 30 Apr]	36
Stand Vindicated [THE NATION 30 Apr]	37
Malaysian Support [THE NATION 28 Apr]	37
OIC Seen Maturing [THE NATION 3 May]	38
Indian Diplomats Said Engaged in Espionage [HURMAT 29 Apr]	40
Military Cooperation Between India, Israel Feared [JANG 18 May]	40
Arabs Said Leaving for Afghanistan To Avoid Arrest [JASARAT 12 May]	40
Kashmir Militant Commander Interviewed [TAKBEER 17 Jun]	41
Agreement With Iranian Foundation for Joint Studies [THE NATION 14 Jun]	43

Internal Affairs

Political Machinations Seen Leading Toward Disaster [AKHBAR-E-JEHAN 7 Jun]	43
New Islamic Political Alliance Formed [THE PAKISTAN TIMES 15 May]	44
Drug Mafia Said Behind Sharif Dismissal [AMN 19 Apr]	44
Bhutto Role in Government Dismissal Criticized [AMN 20 Apr]	45
Bhutto Agreement With President Termed 'Biggest Mistake' [HERALD 15 May]	46
Opposition Leader Calls Bhutto 'Incompetent' [THE PAKISTAN TIMES 22 Apr]	48
Eighth Amendment Said Substitute for Martial Law [THE MUSLIM 27 Apr]	48
Military Rule Feared, Counseled Against [DAWN 1 May]	49
Awami Party Fears Autocratic Rule [THE PAKISTAN TIMES 25 Apr]	51
Cynicism Over National Politics Seen Increasing [HERALD 15 May]	51
U.S. Said To Fear Nation's Islamic Movements [JASARAT 12 May]	52
U.S. Said 'Blackmailing' Nation Over Policies [JASARAT 17 May]	52
U.S. Pressure Claimed on Closure of Refugee Centers [NAWA-I-WAQT 17 May]	53
Jiye Sindh President Demands Independence for States [AMN 8 Jun]	53
Most Elevated Urged To Keep Democracy in Mind [THE MUSLIM 27 Apr]	54
Deportation of Arab Nationals Condemned [TAKBEER 22 Apr]	54
Egyptian Militants Said Being Sent to Sudan [MUSAWAT 10 May]	55
Bhutto Questions Army Neutrality in Prolonged Crisis [THE NATION 4 Jul]	55
Intelligence Agency Changes Viewed, Analyzed [THE NATION 11 May]	56
Change in ISI Chief Seen Significant [DAWN 9 May]	57
Calls for Pashtoon Province Continue [AMN 13 May]	58
Senator Pal Speaks on Corruption, Accountability [THE MUSLIM 8 May]	58
Begum Nawaz' Allegation of Assassination Detailed [THE FRIDAY TIMES 21 Apr]	60
'Real Power' Said To Lie Exclusively With President [THE FRIDAY TIMES 5 May]	61
FRIDAY TIMES Alleges Sharif Government Misusing Funds	63
Raiding Welfare Funds [THE FRIDAY TIMES 19 May]	63
Gohar Ayub Said Involved [THE FRIDAY TIMES 19 May]	64
Wyne Said Embezzler [THE FRIDAY TIMES 12 May]	64
100 Million Rupees Stolen [THE FRIDAY TIMES 12 May]	65
Editorial Urges National Reconciliation, Fresh Elections [THE NATION 5 Jul]	66
Editorial Urges Public To Join Fight Against Drug Abuse [THE PAKISTAN TIMES 27 Jun]	66
Commentary Warns PPP of President's Intentions [THE MUSLIM 27 Apr]	67
Editorial Chides Benazir for Noncommitted Answers [THE MUSLIM 8 May]	68

ISLAMIC AFFAIRS

Qadiyani Sect's Literature for Central Asia Seized [JANG 18 May]	68
Call for Banning Qadiyani Sect From Islam [JANG 21 May]	68

ECONOMIC

Economic Uncertainty Seen After Sharif Dismissal [DAWN 27 Apr]	69
Economic Shortfalls Recounted, Decentralization Advocated [BUSINESS RECORDER 9 May]	70
Drastic Measures Recommended Against Mammoth Deficit [THE MUSLIM 8 May]	72
Exports, Trade Gap Reviewed [DAWN 1 May]	74
Export Growth Slowdown Seen [BUSINESS RECORDER 16 May]	75
Unfair Elections Wasting National Resources [DECCAN HERALD 10 May]	76
JI Leader Sees Bhutto, Sharif Serving US Interests [THE PAKISTAN TIMES 8 May]	78
Chavan Keen To Extend Central Rule for BJP States [DECCAN HERALD 10 May]	79
100 Million Rupees Allotted for Arms Purchases [THE PAKISTAN TIMES 13 May]	79
Hyperinflation Said Resulting From Economic Policies [THE PAKISTAN TIMES 5 May]	80
Distortions in Income Tax System Claimed [BUSINESS RECORDER 5 May]	81
Measures Countering Child Labor Incomplete [DECCAN HERALD 10 May]	82

MILITARY

Missile Capable of Reaching New Delhi Forecast for 1997 [AMN 22 May]	83
Military Said Ready To Buy 3 Billion in Arms From France [THE NATION 14 May]	83

SOCIAL ISSUES

'Alarming Population Growth' Blamed for Urban Problems	[THE NATION 13 May]	84
Author Claims Textbooks Deliberately Distorting History	[THE FRIDAY TIMES 28 Apr]	84

International Affairs

U.S. Role in Political Turmoil Claimed

93AS0873A Karachi JANG in Urdu 5 May 93 p 3

[Article by Rasheed Patel: "Our Political Situation and America."]

[Text] The wheeling and dealing which went on in the Punjab assembly may be unmatched anywhere else in the world. The chief minister who, until yesterday, enjoyed everyone's confidence, suddenly lost it. Whatever this may or may not prove, it certainly shows that it was not possible to push a [similar] plan through the national assembly, otherwise a double barrelled shotgun would not have been used to upset the country's political system. One barrel (8th amendment) was used to change the federal ruling authority overnight and the second barrel (wheeling dealing) to change the leader of the Punjab assembly.

The dismissal of the prime minister and the wheeling dealing in the Punjab assembly has placed the former prime minister, together with his trusted friends, in an entirely new political role among the ranks of the people. Behind him is his historical speech to the people on 17 April in which he challenged the establishment as no one had ever done before and promised the people, as no one had done before either, that he would continue his political struggle to promote democracy and the well being of the people. Since then, he has been proceeding on his new political journey and his successes include the whirlwind tour of Karachi and, with the political cooperation of the National Awami Party [NAP], the historical public gathering at Peshawar. The political echo resulting from the latter has given rise to talk of the danger of martial law in the country and the possibility of the postponement of elections. More important still, she who until yesterday championed street politics, political turmoil and long marches, now that she gained office, has changed her political stance and style and is issuing the political warning that the deteriorating law and order situation was inviting the imposition of martial law. All these things show that in one week, the present ruling authorities have discovered that the situation has backfired; they are forced to get together frequently for consultation, keep expanding the federal cabinet, and are seeking justification for calling the provisional government the national government. While doing all this, each one of them has remained aware of the political necessity of leaving a backdoor open for retreat. Pakistan People's Party [PPP] is holding on to the excuse and demand for the dismissal of the provincial assemblies [sic] and is studying the future political situation so that if necessary, it may have a reason for a hasty withdrawal from the provisional government. The U. S. is studying the hour by hour situation closely and, in the interests of its own objectives, keeps pushing the provisional government forward as long as possible. The U. S. ambassador, detecting political anxiety and fear in the ranks of the provisional government, recently met

with the provisional prime minister, congratulated him on gaining office and patted him on the back to give him political encouragement. The leader of the People's party, who has staked everything on participation in the provisional government, has gone to the U. S. to better understand the U. S. strategy.

Such is the country's political situation which has given the provisional government a case of high political fever; and the critical situation of business and trade is depriving the government of its sleep. The country has gone through economic fear and anxiety before but the present economic turmoil is unprecedented. The change of government created immediate despair in the money and capital markets and the people have lost confidence in everything. In the space of a few hours, the people withdrew half the country's foreign exchange from the banks; the stock market fell suddenly and steeply and is still languishing. Even the purchase of millions of rupees worth of shares by government officials has failed to boost the market and the atmosphere of uncertainty and loss of confidence is affecting all branches of commerce. This same uncertainty and growing loss of confidence is the real political power of the former prime minister and he gained this power legitimately through his privatization policy for which he worked night and day. He strengthened the foundations of a free market and foreign investment in the country and raised the business morale. It was because of the problems of the economy and morale that three days after coming into office, the provisional government, seeing the country's business and trade plunging into uncertainty, was forced to announce that it would follow the former government's policy of privatization and free economy. But people are not content with listening to what is said, they look at the speaker and remember his background. Investments, savings, the stock market and foreign exchange are like the sensitive plant which withers at a mere touch; what has happened was more like a sharp slap administered by large landowners and feudal landlords who cannot accomplish anything except turn the wheel of time back toward the past. Industrialization, privatization, investment and liberalism are not in their interests.

Knowing full well the political calibre of the present ruling authorities, and knowing also that the former prime minister was leading the country toward the political and democratic principles established by the U. S. itself and was bringing the country in line with international economic trends, why did the U.S. still consider it necessary to bring about political changes in Pakistan? Why is the U.S. supporting and protecting these changes and encouraging certain individuals? Why is it calling unconstitutional and undemocratic actions both constitutional and democratic? Events reveal why the U. S. is behaving in this fashion. The fact is that the U. S. is not interested in seeing its political and economic principles take root here; its interest lies in other matters and other plans which aim at bringing about changes in this region and weakening Pakistan.

The former prime minister was not interested in becoming a U. S. tool for furthering its plan; hence, he was dismissed. The new ruling authorities have placed their political necks in a noose. Their relationship with the U. S. ambassador, who is a master of the political art of tear down and destroy, is becoming closer. The ambassador's last political appointment was the Philippines where he accomplished no mean task when he had Mrs. Aquino, who is opposed to military dictatorship, choose a military leader in the last elections as the head of the country. The ambassador is now accomplishing the same thing here in a different political fashion. It was not merely accidental that the former government was trampled politically at the time when the Islamic ministers' conference was going to be held in a few days (and in the international political situation, this conference was very important for the U.S.). The explosion of the bomb of fundamentalism and the accusations of terrorism were used to bury the government under tons of wreckage. These false accusations would have been the burning issue discussed in the conference and the situation would have been quite different if the former government had been the host of the conference. But the provisional government washed away the stain of these accusations in the presence of the foreign ministers of all Islamic countries as one washes away a stain from one's shirt. Out of fear of being called terrorist, the ruling authorities backed away so far from the support of the Kashmiris that they might just as well have said that they were withdrawing their moral support also. Our stand on Bosnia and Palestine went not an inch further than the U. S. stand. Our position influenced the entire proceedings of the conference and the U. S. gained its objective to keep Islamic causes weak and downtrodden. In the next stage, the U.S. will thrust on us its solution for the differences on the subcontinent. The present Azad Kashmir assembly and leadership are obstacles in the path, hence they will be removed. If you remember, the president and former prime minister were told to fulfill their national and international responsibilities as soon as possible; the next day, addressing the nation, the former prime minister announced spiritedly that he would not accept anyone's dictation.

Rejection of U.S. Dictation Advocated

93AS0892F Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu
8 May 93 p 10

[Editorial: "U. S. Dictation and the Responsibility of National Politicians."]

[Text] Qazi Hussain Ahmad, leader of Jamaat-I-Islami, has said that the country wanted a politician which would be able to tell the United States that he would not submit to U.S. dictation because at this time, the United States wanted to see a Pakistan which had no nuclear program, a small army and a small defense budget. U.S. intentions regarding Pakistan are no secret; aid has been stopped over the nuclear issue and Pakistan has been refused spare parts for even its old ships [planes?].

Because of Indian propaganda, Pakistan is being threatened with the designation of terrorist for giving moral and political aid to the freedom movement in Kashmir which is based on justice and truth. The irony is that, according to the BBC, the United States has for the moment postponed labelling Pakistan a terrorist state because such an action may be considered a reaction against the dismissal of the Nawaz Sharif government. In other words, the caretaker government, of which Benazir Bhutto is a member, is very dear to the United States; furthermore, she is crediting her lobbying for U. S.'s postponement of the terrorist designation for Pakistan. Speaking to Pakistani and Indian journalists in Washington, Benazir expressed the hope that the government which would come into office after the elections in Pakistan would improve relations with the United States. She also said that relations between Pakistan and India would improve if India had a courageous leader like Rajiv Gandhi. She promised that if she became the prime minister, she would urge a weapons reduction agreement between India and Pakistan.

The promises which Benazir Bhutto, a member of the caretaker government established under the supervision of president Ghulam Ishaq, is making to her new world order masters show that if she assumes office again, there will be a return to the days when smiles were exchanged with Rajiv Gandhi; there is danger also that Kashmir will be put on the back burner and friendship promoted with India because, in order to bring about weapons reduction with India, Kashmir will have to be forgotten. Benazir has openly announced that in her lifetime, friendship between India and Pakistan will become possible. After this clear announcement, patriotic politicians who are aware of Indian and U.S. intentions should pool their strength and make Pakistan strong to the extent that, whereas today, an individual told the United States indirectly that he would not accept U.S. dictation, tomorrow a prime minister would be courageous and strong enough to tell the United States directly, "You will not dictate to me."

The fact is that the only reason the former government and the assembly were punished is that they refused to bow to U.S. pressure and tow the U.S. line on nuclear policy, the Afghanistan issue, Kashmir struggle, fundamentalism etc. The only conclusion to be drawn from Benazir and BBC's statements that the United States had postponed its decision to declare Pakistan a terrorist state is that the United States does not object to the policies of the present government which, in turn, leads one to conclude that the former prime minister must have refused to follow policies dictated by the United States. The presidential lobby's propaganda is thus false that the United States had encouraged the former prime minister to conduct a campaign against the president because the United States thought that it was very difficult, if not impossible, to end Pakistan's nuclear program as long as the president was in office. The propaganda put out by the president's lobby claims that Ghulam Ishaq is the originator and guarantor of Pakistan's nuclear program; but as the truth begins to emerge

slowly, one can see that in fact, the former prime minister was considered an obstacle in the path of U.S. intentions. At any rate, it is the duty of self-respecting national politicians who are the well wishers of Pakistan and the nation to try to understand U.S. intentions and, in order to safeguard the interests of Pakistan and the nation's security and freedom, to support those forces who refuse to bow before India or the United States. If Qazi Hussain Ahmad wishes to see an individual, who can refuse to submit to U.S. dictation, gain the office of prime minister, he should be seen standing beside such a man who would have the courage to do so even if it should cost him his office. It is the duty of politicians all over the country to show unity and inflict utter defeat in the next elections on those who wish to make Pakistan the satellite or serf of the United States and India. It is Benazir's responsibility to return to her country and clarify the statements she has made and explain to the nation that if she is returned to office, what policy she will pursue to free Kashmir from India's clutches, strengthen Pakistan's nuclear program and safeguard the country's security. Pakistan is the bulwark not only of the people of Pakistan but of all Muslims and it is the duty of every politician to protect it and ensure its safety.

Major Shift in U.S. Interests, Views Seen

93AS0869C Karachi DAWN in English 12 May 93 p 15

[Article by M. H. Askari: "US Ambassador's Concern"]

[Text] There is no reason to believe that nothing but a genuine concern for Pakistan's economic health would have prompted the US Ambassador, John C. Monjo, to describe this country's defence spending as "far too high." The statement is, nevertheless, astonishing as it appears to imply that Pakistan's defence spending has grown without any linkage to American strategic interests in South Asia.

While the end of the cold war has understandably brought about radical changes in American perceptions of global security, it would be unrealistic to assume that Pakistan would be able to suddenly shift into the reverse gear and begin dismantling a defence establishment which in the first place began burgeoning in the Eisenhower era, in consequence of the alliance relationship established between US and Pakistan as far back as 1954. Directly under US influence, Pakistan acceded to SEATO [Southeast Asia Treaty Organization] in September 1954 and the Baghdad Pact, subsequently called CENTO [Central European Treaty Organization], in September 1955. In March 1959, the two countries concluded the Agreement of Cooperation, which was an executive agreement, rather than a treaty, but all subsequent US administrations reaffirmed it.

There can be no argument with Ambassador Monjo's statement, at a forum of businessmen and industrialists in Karachi the other day, that Pakistan must demonstrate the political will to tackle the challenges affecting development, health, education and population control,

causing Pakistan to lag behind several other developing countries at present. A number of Pakistani experts themselves have been concerned at the excessive budget deficits and over 80 per cent of Pakistan's net revenues going into defence spending and debt servicing, leaving very little for day-to-day administration and the social sector.

However, it should be no news to Ambassador Monjo that the present state of Pakistan's economy has resulted, to a large extent, from what American experts themselves have described as a unique influence-relationship which began developing between Pakistan and United States in the fifties. Despite "wild fluctuations" (as one American specialist has called it), it continued up to the end of the eighties.

Ambassador Monjo has been lecturing Pakistani audiences on the imperative need to appreciate the shifting of American priorities in the past three or four years because of the changes in the socio-economic and security environment. The changes have flowed from the end of the cold war and have largely affected perceptions in the US and some other major powers in the West. The environment for Pakistan (and South Asia as a whole) has not meant changes in perceptions in any significant way. Hence the perplexed and somewhat angry reaction of Pakistanis to what they are being told.

While talking to a group of senior journalists in Islamabad on March 31, the US Ambassador insisted that he should not be looked upon as "viceroy". To many Pakistanis, nevertheless, his observation that Pakistani officials should be certain that "they are implementing what is their declared policy" seemed to have a somewhat peremptory tone about it. If the Ambassador had conveyed his (or his government's) feeling that Pakistan had still not imposed an effective enough "clampdown" on aid being funnelled to the Kashmiri freedom-fighters, to Pakistan's policy planners, the message should have been regarded as perfectly bona fide. However, he chose to address his remarks to news-media representatives which suggested that the message was intended to get through to Pakistanis at large. This could not but arouse a confused response; the Kashmiri people's freedom-struggle had intensified shortly after the operations against the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, in which the Americans themselves were closely collaborating with Pakistan, had drawn to a close. For the large mass of people in Pakistan, it is not easy to make a distinction between the situation in Afghanistan and that in Kashmir, both leaving a direct and almost equal bearing upon Pakistan's security and stability.

That the United States is concerned about Pakistan's nuclear programme and the Indian allegations of this country's interference in its internal affairs is not the whole story behind the shift in the United States' policy towards Pakistan. The imperatives of the post cold-war situation are also directly relevant, and so is the growing US attention to India.

The Clinton administration has already embarked on a major initiative to encourage a bilateral dialogue between India and Pakistan and defuse the tensions on the subcontinent. A series of confidence-building measures have been suggested by Washington and a great deal more of diplomacy will be at work in the coming weeks. The report on the future of US-India relations compiled by a study group sponsored by Carnegie Endowment for Peace late last year can be expected to receive more than passing attention from the policy-planners in Washington. The report clearly stated that the end of the cold war had created the opportunity for a significant improvement in relations between the US and India since "a growing recognition of converging geopolitical interests and shared democratic and secular values has replaced mutual distrust resulting from differing perceptions of the Soviet threat." The study group came to the conclusion that India would grow in economic and military power, regardless of what US did, and that development of cooperative Indo-American relations would be growing interest to both countries.

Reverting to Mr. Monjo's latest statement, one may recall that despite the close security and economic relationship between Pakistan and United States from the early fifties to the late eighties, Washington hardly ever became oblivious of the possibility of developing a strategic relationship with India. In 1959-60, US leaders were seriously questioning Pakistan's value to the United States and Senator John F. Kennedy, who was to become the US President a few months later, urged Washington to give massive aid to India, presumably because of the latter's tensions with China. He strongly believed that the US strategic relationship with Pakistan should not be allowed to stand in the way.

In the context of US-Pakistan relations and the expansion of Pakistan's defence establishment, it is important to repeat that the role played by Washington has been a major factor. Although the first moves to cultivate an influence relationship with the US came from Pakistan, by the early fifties Washington was exploring the possibility of providing "defence support" to Pakistan. In 1952 it provided economic assistance for the purpose.

The election of ex-General Eisenhower as President and his choice of John Foster Dulles as his Secretary of State and of Admiral Arthur W. Radford as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff inaugurated an era of closer US-Pakistan relationship. As part of its policy to contain communism, Washington developed its concept of a "northern tier of defence" and sought to build up the indigenous fighting capabilities of Pakistan, Iran, Turkey and Iraq as "front-line states." The US also encouraged Ayub Khan, who had assumed the command of the Pakistan Army in 1951, to undertake visits to the United States.

Prior to a meeting of the Commonwealth military staff in late 1951, Ayub Khan, along with Iskandar Mirza, then Defence Secretary, in fact decided to bypass Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan and sounded out the US

Ambassador in Karachi on the idea of Pakistan being associated with the "defence" of the Middle East, on condition that the Middle East commander should be an American. In September-October 1953, Ayub Khan, at his own initiative, visited the United States, "seeking a deal" with Washington for Pakistan to serve as "the West's eastern anchor in an Asian alliance structure." It has been speculated that as early as then, Ayub Khan had a grandiose plan to capture power (which he did in 1958) and seek American help in order to develop the army which was his power base.

The close strategic alliance which later developed between Pakistan and US is only too well known. The subsequent expansion of the Pakistan armed forces, with substantial inductions of funds and materials by the United States. A large group of civil and military advisers was also placed by the US in Pakistan to oversee the expansion. The first phase of US-Pakistan strategic relationship ended for all practical purposes after the 1965 India-Pakistan war. Following the Soviet military occupation of Afghanistan on December 25, 1979, Pakistan and the United States embarked on a new phase of strategic relationship.

Washington now once again looked upon Pakistan as an important factor in fashioning its policy. With President Reagan's assumption of his office, the US agreed to a \$3 billion aid package for Pakistan extending over a period of six years. This was to be followed by a second package of \$4.3 billion. However, the US has not released the annual instalment of aid funds since and of 1990 because of its perceived concerns over Pakistan's nuclear programme. The programme, nevertheless, was there when US was collaborating with Pakistan during the Afghanistan crisis.

Panel Reviews Relations With U.S.

93AS0891A Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu
14 May 93 p 5

[Article presents views of 5 individuals participating in the third of a series of discussions entitled: Aiwani-waqt, arranged by the newspaper NAWA-I-WAQT. Aiwani-i-waqt's presiding panelists are Tariq Ismail Sagar, Tahir Malik, and Javed Alavi. The participants in the discussion are: Hanif Ramey, General M.H. Ansari, Sayed Haidar Farooq Maududi, Arif Chaudhry, and Farruq Suhail Goindi. The topic: "Pak-U.S. Relations: The Challenge Facing Pakistan's Foreign Policy."]

[Text] Host: I welcome today's guests participating in this meeting arranged by the newspaper NAWA-I-WAQT. The topic of today's discussion concerns Pakistan's foreign policy and is titled: "Pak-American Relations." I request Hanif Ramey to open the discussion.

Hanif Ramey:

Foreign policy is in fact an extension of domestic policy; unfortunately, since Pakistan's present government has neither a domestic policy nor any specific goals, how can it be expected to have any foreign policy? We do not have a

minister for foreign affairs and at this critical moment, the prime minister's special assistant has been sent to the U.S. to try to improve Pak-U.S. relations. The prime minister has no time to devote to foreign affairs. Like the SHO, he likes to investigate crime at the scene of the action. As regards foreign policy, no country loves another country; special interests in fact shape foreign policy. Common interests create warm relations between countries, and, when these interests no longer exist, relations begin to cool. We fought the war in Afghanistan for the U.S. We worked for U.S. interests, but Zia demonstrated weakness and cowardice when he failed to explode a nuclear device. Today, the U.S. is trying to brand us terrorists because of our nuclear policy. At the present time, the individuals in Pakistan who can be called terrorists are those who were trained by the U.S. to fight the Soviet Union. We are accused of dealing in narcotics; but no one can tell the U.S. that those who are smuggling drugs with Pakistani passports are the same Afghans who were aided by the U.S. The Pakistani government appears totally helpless in foreign affairs. Pakistan has no one to advocate its cause in foreign affairs or in the international arena. Countries such as France and Germany call us the door to Central Asia, but in the eyes of our own government we have no international standing.

The Muslims are suffering oppression in Kashmir but Pakistan appears unable to advocate their cause. India wants to isolate us internationally; instead of trying to counteract the efforts of India and the Indian lobby, we merely launch accusations against that country. We have never tried to understand U.S. foreign policy. At the present time the U. S. has divided the Middle East into two parts: an Arab part believed to be under the leadership of Saudi Arabia, and the other part under the leadership of India. India tries to depict itself to the West as the country with the largest Muslim population. The time has come when we should establish good relations with India. If it was possible for us in the past to maintain good relations with U. S. and China at the same time, why can we not now have close relations with both India and China?

International conditions demand that Pakistan and India simultaneously announce that they are nuclear powers; the U.S. would then be forced to revise its foreign policy priorities. We should make it quite clear to all countries that we are not willing to accept India as the regional leader; if India wants to maintain its superiority through nuclear bombs, then we also have nuclear bombs. History has shown that a nuclear war did not break out because both the U.S. and the Soviet Union had nuclear bombs. Similarly, since both India and Pakistan possess nuclear bombs, the fear of a nuclear war turns into a guarantee that such a war will not break out.

The solution of the Kashmir problem is essential to [good] relations between Pakistan and India. It is a foregone conclusion that we cannot solve the Kashmir issue with India by military means. The Kashmir problem has to be solved through political means and

that necessitates gaining something and giving something. In order to establish strong relations with the U.S., Pakistan needs good relations with India.

(Retired) General M. H. Ansari:

Pak-U.S. relations are an important issue, and, to find a positive solution for this problem, it is necessary to create a social bent of thought within Pakistan. Confusion and instability in foreign affairs can prove dangerous for Pakistan. Relations between the U.S. and Pakistan began when former Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan decided to visit the U.S. instead of the Soviet Union. Pakistan then joined several defense agreements with the U.S., and, because of its support of the U.S., received arms and military aid. Pakistan was the bridge which enabled the restoration of close relations between China and the U.S.; it was instrumental in bringing two powerful countries together. Historically, the U.S. maintained close relations with nondemocratic military regimes in Pakistan, and Pakistan stayed at the side of the U.S. against the Soviet Union. A major turning point in Pak-U.S. relations came when Zulfikar Ali Bhutto announced Pakistan's intention to build a nuclear bomb. The U.S. was not ready under any circumstances to see Pakistan become a nuclear power. During Bhutto's term of office, the U.S. secretary of state visited Pakistan in order to dissuade him from acquiring nuclear capability. The U.S. foreign secretary even warned Bhutto that he would come to a dire end if he built a nuclear bomb. The problem of Afghanistan once again brought Pakistan and the U.S. close together, and the U.S. used Pakistan to fight its enemy Soviet Union in Afghanistan.

When the Soviet Union started to face defeat in Afghanistan, the U.S. attitude toward Pakistan began to change. In the last days of the Afghanistan war, the U.S. accused Pakistani authorities of embezzling U.S. aid to Afghanistan. Then the U.S. raised the issue of Pakistan's complicity in terrorism. The fact is that the U. S. does not want to see Pakistan become strong; it does not want Pakistan to acquire nuclear capability and become stable and strong. To achieve its objectives, the U.S. needs a weak Pakistan. On the other hand, our rulers have become addicted to U.S. aid. Instead of relying on ourselves, we have always depended on U.S. aid. Our governments cannot function without loans from the World Bank, IMF, and the American dollar. What we have to decide is the kind of relations we want with the U.S. One way to strengthen ties with the U.S. is to do whatever it wants and to forget our own wishes and aspirations. The other way is to stand up to the U.S. and, like a dignified and honorable nation, strengthen our internal situation, gain self sufficiency and no longer depend on the U.S. In conclusion, I would like to say that we cannot become strong and formulate a foreign policy if there is domestic dissension and confrontation within the country. It is possible to shape a dignified foreign policy only when conditions within the country are

peaceful and stable. We cannot stand up to the U.S. if we are not self-sufficient. A weak Pakistan will have to bow before the U.S.

Sayed Haidar Farooq Maududi:

The U.S. is the natural friend of Pakistan and this fact was demonstrated soon after the creation of Pakistan when prime minister of the time Liaqat Ali Khan accepted the invitation to visit the U.S. The leaders of the Pakistan movement were democratic minded individuals, and, hence, it was natural for them to gravitate toward the U.S. rather than the Soviet Union. After the death of the founder of Pakistan and Liaqat Ali Khan, Pakistan's policy fell prey to instability, but that fact did not create a breach in Pak-U.S. relations.

Relations between the U.S. and Pakistan reached their high point during Zia's term of office when, with the help of the U.S. and the West, Pakistan aided in every way possible the struggle of the Muslim people of Afghanistan against Russian forces. As a result of the joint efforts of the U.S. and Pakistan, the struggle of the people of Afghanistan succeeded and a super power, the Soviet Union, was forced to withdraw its troops.

After the Russian withdrawal from Afghanistan, if there had been unity of thought among the people of Pakistan, the issue of Afghanistan would have been solved in a desirable fashion. Unfortunately, our religious elements labor under the misapprehension that we defeated the Russians in Afghanistan single handedly; hence, it was not necessary to take into account the political and economic interests and views of the Pakistani government and its Western allies.

Because of the wrong thinking of religious elements of the wrong kind, on the one hand, peace has not been restored in Afghanistan, and, on the other hand, Pakistan's relations with friendly countries such as Saudi Arabia and the U.S. are deteriorating.

The government's action against the welfare organizations of Arab countries [sic] in Peshawar resulted from the obstinacy of these religious groups. These groups who, for the past 15 years accepted aid from the U.S. and the West, are now out of control. They constantly accuse the two major political parties in Pakistan, Muslim League and the People's Party, of being U.S. agents. They see America's hand in the differences between president Ishaq and prime minister Nawaz Sharif. If the U.S. is so evil, which law of the sharia justifies their having accepted U.S. help to conduct a "jihad"?

The son of Qazi Hussain Ahmad, the present leader of Jamaat-i-Islami (Qazi group) is receiving higher education in the U.S. We were able to stop Russian aggression in Afghanistan with the help of the U.S. The behaviour of Jamaat-i-Islami and other religious parties in venting their anger night and day against the U.S. can only be interpreted as ingratitude, faithlessness, and lack of political foresight. Islam does not teach us to act in this manner.

We depend on the U.S. and the West for everything from wheat to planes. But the emotional speeches of our leaders convey the impression that Pakistan and not the U.S. is today's superpower. It is true that Islam offers solutions to all the individual and social problems of life. But the question which is more important, and, to the point, is what is the status of Muslims today. One cannot conquer the world shouting slogans of Islam's righteousness.

By shouting emotional slogans against the U.S., the country cannot be administered nor a foreign policy formulated. I request the religious elements to temper emotion with realism and view the facts. Empty slogans against the U.S. do not benefit Islam or Pakistan. It is commonly said that the defense agreements between Pakistan and the U.S. were aimed against the Soviet Union. That is true, but a more important fact is that, in the 1971 war between Pakistan and India, the U.S. kept Indira Gandhi from attacking West Pakistan. Hence, we should thank the U.S. for our existence. After the creation of Pakistan, the founder of the country unequivocally announced his opposition to communism and laid the foundation of friendship between Pakistan and the U.S. The Islamic world and the West share their belief in the principles of democracy, freedom, justice, freedom of expression, and a prosperous [welfare?] state. By acting on these principles, Muslims and Christians can promote cooperation based on love and brotherhood in a new world order.

Arif Chaudhry Advocate:

In order to understand [part of sentence deleted] relations between Pakistan and the U.S., it is first necessary to understand American psychology. In the U.S., a child's training starts with the primacy of "number one," the individual himself, and this fact is uppermost [part of line missing]. Children in the U.S. do not play meaningless games as our children do; their games are based on gaining the economic upperhand and establishing dominance and exploitation. In short, life starts in the U.S. with economic competition, the development of the self, and an individual's successful competition against other individuals. If we study the relations between Pakistan and the U.S. in the light of these facts, we realize that our relations with the U.S. were never based on bilateral [interests] that is on priorities based on national interests. The U.S. has always used us as a tool to further its expansionist and imperialist objectives, and our governments have furthered U.S. interests in order to keep themselves in office and because of the exigencies of the time.

The most important and recent example of this fact is the U.S. confrontation with the Soviet Union in Afghanistan. This was a juncture when the U.S. was badly caught in a crisis and had become entangled in a struggle with a superpower in this region; these facts were essential in maintaining Pakistan's geographical and political importance. Our governments limited themselves to receiving temporary aid; they did not take advantage of

the situation to enter into any permanent agreements. We now see the result of their policies. After Russia was defeated in Afghanistan with our help, and Russian troops withdrew from that country, we lost our importance to the U.S. Our peaceful nuclear program which the U.S. knew about during the war in Afghanistan, assumed unusual importance to the U.S. after the end of the war.

The U.S. bases its foreign policy on the geographical and political changes in the world. After the end of Russian communism, the only danger it can detect is from socialist China. The hegemony of India in this region as a counterpoint to China has become a priority for U.S. interests.

At the same time, one should also remember that, as was revealed in President Clinton's speech, the U.S. still regards the newly independent Soviet republics as a danger to itself. Our relations with Central Asian states, based on a common religion, are a thorn in the side of the U.S. Although Pakistan was not able to use the religious factor as the basis for strong relations with Central Asian countries, the tone of the propaganda which was carried out in this regard has rung the bell of danger for the U.S. Added to all this is our friendship with Iran which the U.S. takes into account. In view of these facts, it should be easy for us to realize that the U.S. will never give us any aid. In order to survive, we will have to base our plans on our national interests.

It is essential, therefore, to put into practice our slogans of self-sufficiency. The ordinary man should not have to pay for the country's self-sufficiency; rather, restrictions should be placed on the limitless luxuries enjoyed by the upper classes. Pakistan should stop immediately imports of foreign products including luxury items. The slogan of a prosperous Pakistan should be the same as the one adopted under the leadership of Liaquat Ali Khan on 21 May, 1948, namely, that we will depend on domestic products for our needs. This policy should be immediately put into effect.

On the sensitive issue of nuclear power, we should inform U.S. and the whole world of our point of view. Most important of all is political stability within the country. As long as a truly democratic government does not have the opportunity to take root in the country, we will encounter difficulty in establishing relations with the U.S. and other countries on a dignified basis. At this critical juncture in its history, Pakistan should regard as its first priority the reformulation of its foreign policy.

Farrukh Suhail Goindi:

Pakistan's relations with the U.S. were never established on a popular basis. According to a U.S. survey, Pakistanis dislike the U.S. more than the Iranians [do?]. Pakistan's relations with the U.S. were always maintained between governments. A former CIA director once called General Zia a likeable person. U.S. foreign policy regarding the Third World has changed. In the

past, the U.S. directly supported military and nondemocratic governments as a result of which the people of countries such as Iran and the Philippines came to hate the U.S. intensely. The present U.S. policy is to protect U.S. interests in the Third World by keeping straw politicians in power while the army, which has the real power, works behind the scenes for the U.S.

It is the misfortune of the people of Pakistan that our governments relied solely on U.S. aid and endeavoured to the point of stupidity to establish close relations with the U.S. We did not attach any importance to maintaining close relations with a near neighbor, Iran, but relations with the U.S., a country thousands of miles away, became very important to our governments. Pakistan is important to the U.S., and that is why the U.S. includes Pakistan in its central command [sic]. However, the U.S. has always used Pakistan to achieve its own interests, and, once those interests were served, it has turned its back on this country. In 1990, Pakistan sent its troops to fight on the U.S. side against Iraq. What did Pakistan receive in exchange? Nothing. U.S. cancelled the debts of Egypt and Turkey when these two countries joined the U.S. [in the Gulf war]. In the history of Pakistan, it was only from 1971-77, during Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's term of office, that Pakistan did not depend on U.S. aid, and that was the reason why this country made progress [in those years].

The fact is that our governments went against the wishes of the people and tried to get close to the U.S. The latter has never come to our aid in times of trouble but has stood by silently. In the 1965 war, even though there was a defense agreement between Pakistan and the U.S., the latter did not help us. In the Pak-India war of 1971, the U.S. staged a drama with its fleet but left Pakistan to fend for itself alone. If, in spite of these experiences, we still want relations with the U.S., then, first, public participation in the matter is essential, and, second, the relations should be on the basis of equality.

U.S. Intelligence Said Fabricating to Further U.S. Interests

93AS0894A Karachi DAWN in English 15 May 93 p 11

[Article by Khalid Mahmud Arif: "CIA's India-Pakistan War, 1990"]

[Text] Writing in the NEW YORKER magazine on March 29, 1993, Seymour M. Hersh has projected the CIA claim that it averted an open conflict between India and Pakistan in 1990. The article states that, "In the view of American intelligence, the weak governments in place in Pakistan and India in May of 1990 were willing to run any risk—including a nuclear war—to avoid a disastrous military, and thus political, defeat in Kashmir." The CIA had assessed that, "Both sides were blundering toward a war, and we were afraid that it would go nuclear."

Alarmed by this intelligence assessment that US President's emissary Robert Gates was rushed to India and

Pakistan where he claimed success in warding off a regional war. Some details of Gates' conversation with the Pakistani dignitaries are disclosed in the article but those held by him with the Indian leaders are carefully omitted. The kiss of war theme has since been selectively played up by the US and her strategic allies. The garbled version leaked out to the Press is riddled with some vital missing links which arouse doubts and questions. For example, was the CIA assessment accurate and genuine or was it purposely fabricated to promote a hidden interest? Was a war really imminent? If so what precise evidence justified the CIA to apprehend that it might take a nuclear turn? Which country had planned to initiate the war? The truth remains buried in a haze of uncertainty as the two regional governments have unwisely maintained a cloak of secrecy.

Hersh writes that Robert Gates "declines to discuss specific intelligence about the nuclear crisis in May of 1990," and concedes that, "There is no evidence that Pakistani leadership or its intelligence had advance knowledge of or were in any way involved in the initial uprising in Kashmir, which was triggered in January 1990 when Indian police opened fire and killed 50 pro-independence demonstrators who were protesting what they viewed as the latest of India's puppet governments. But Pakistan did move quickly to exploit the unrest."

The genesis of the Kashmir dispute, long held on the UN agenda, need not be discussed here. The people's indigenous uprising erupted from the non-implementation of the UN resolutions on Kashmir calling for the holding of a UN-supervised referendum. Reneging from that international commitment, India imposed policies of terror and oppression on the people with the bayonets and bullets of the Indian military. They rose against the denial of their rights and the tyranny of the ruthless occupying power.

In an attempt to externalise her self-created chaos, India blamed Pakistan for her predicament in Kashmir. The war seeking military leadership in the Indian army prepared a hit plan to engage "targets" in Azad Kashmir in the garb of destroying the assumed training bases of the freedom fighters. In the assessment of the Indian planners, Pakistan would then be faced with a hard choice. She would either swallow the insult and raise political noises against the Indian aggression or retaliate with force. The CIA sniffed the foul odour of the Indian expansionist plan. It concluded that it would be politically impossible for Pakistan not to react sharply to such an unprovoked act of military aggression. Without exposing the Indian war designs, it prepared an exaggerated conflict scenario to pressure the policy-makers in the two countries. A peaceful South Asia had long been a goal of the American foreign policy. Alarmed at the prospects of a war raging in the region, the US administration took preemptive measures to calm tempers. Gates took a hurriedly arranged journey to the subcontinent to convey the US concern.

An expert in the intelligence field Gates lacked the sophistication, the elegance and the finesse of a seasoned diplomat. With his frankness bordering abrasion, he vainly tried to overawe Pakistan. Islamabad firmly denied the location of training camps on her soil for the Kashmiri freedom fighters and repeated her desire to live in peace with India on the basis of sovereign equality. Gates guessed that Pakistan would not succumb to the Indian blackmail and would aggressively defend herself if attacked.

Gates reportedly conveyed to the Indian leadership the views of Cakley, the US Ambassador in Pakistan, that an unprovoked military attack in Kashmir would compel a cornered Pakistan to react strongly in her defence. He subsequently claimed that his warning to India produced a salutary effect. The Indian army quietly backtracked from its trigger happy military venture in Azad Kashmir. This episode has been projected by the US administration to claim that India and Pakistan were on the precipice of a war in which nuclear-weapons could have been employed.

Apart from the inappropriate weather factor the ground realities that prevailed in May 1990 in Kashmir and along the Indo-Pakistan border negate the myth of the imminence of hostilities. Available credible evidence shows that the Indian army offensive attack plan, prepared by the military brass, had not yet received the final political nod of approval from the Indian government. The ground situation confirms this view. The considerable and inescapable preparatory work needed by the Indian military to support a war of aggression would have been immediately detected in Pakistan. The Pakistani intelligence did not pick up any abnormal logistic and movement activity of the Indian military forces close to the border belt. Tension prevailed in the bilateral relations between India and Pakistan but its low intensity did not indicate that a war was around the corner.

If a war was not in the offing, the danger of the employment of nuclear weapons in it was at best a hypothetical conjecture. Pakistan did not possess a usable nuclear weapon. As such she could not have been an aggressor. India would have been naive to start a nuclear war, even when she had nuclear bombs secretly tucked in her basements. The price of initiating a nuclear aggression would have been too heavy for India to bear. By planning to externalise her internal difficulties, India played into the hands of the CIA which skilfully exploited the opportunity to promote the wider interests of the US foreign policy.

The nuclear war scenario in the subcontinent, void of ringing the bell of truth, was a clever intelligence move to build up a world pressure on India and Pakistan to highlight the danger of a regional conflict getting out of control by design or through miscalculation. It was aimed at urging upon the two countries to accede to the Non-Proliferation Treaty. The American administration might also have been innocently led to believe in the

possible nuclear horrible scenario. By tradition the intelligence services usually over-project the most serious and the most dangerous hypothesis. The extra caution provides a self safety clause for their professional work. Didn't we forecast it so, they would claim, if an unexpected development took place.

Many countries led by sane leaders have stockpiled nuclear weapons and made contingency plans based on the principles of nuclear deterrence. The arrogance of some countries possessing the weapons of terror and advising the others to accept and live under the terror of such weapons is based on a twisted logic unworthy of serious thought.

Over a billion residents in South Asia deserve enduring peace and security on the basis of equality for all its nations. India and Pakistan, along with the rest of the world countries, ought to work in harmony to achieve this noble goal.

Articles View Continued U.S. Pressure on Terrorism Issue

Influenced by Indian Complaints

93AS0870A Lahore *THE NATION* in English
14 May 93 p 4

[Editorial: "Issue of Terrorism"]

[Text] Pakistan's Embassy in the US may have had some cause for satisfaction at the release of the State Department's annual report on international terrorism, in which Pakistan's name does not figure, but to assume that 'the issue of terrorism will soon be behind us,' may be premature. Not that the US had any concrete evidence of terrorism against Pakistan but in the post-Afghan war South Asia, that is the only tactic it has to pressure Pakistan on the nuclear issue. The application of the Pressler Amendment against Pakistan, under which the US can stop the supply of military hardware to a nuclear state, had already deprived the US of any leverage here. All it could do was to hold on to the money that Pakistan had paid for military purchases for some more time in order to prevent Pakistan from acquiring arms from other sources. But there being a limit to that, the US had actually run out of options to keep Pakistan under duress. It was, and still is, therefore, convenient for the US to listen to the Indian complaints and dangle the threat of terrorism over Pakistan's head. The position now is that the US has a Hobson's choice—declare Pakistan a terrorist state and thereby jump into an adversary relationship with it, or to give up that threat and forego even that little leverage to manage Pakistan. The fact is that the threat, despite a great deal of help from the Indian propaganda machine, is clearly subject to the law of diminishing returns. The charge of terrorism in Kashmir, where a purely indigenous struggle against the oppressive military rule by India is being waged for more than two years now, is not really believed by even the Indian intelligentsia.

Indian terrorism, in what the US now calls the part of Kashmir under Indian control, is well documented. Since the UN does not recognise Kashmir to be a part of India, the atrocities being committed there are, in a technical sense, on non-Indian citizens. The dilemma that the US faces is: what yardstick does it have to dub Pakistan a terrorist state, and not apply the same criteria on India, Serbia and Israel? Yet such are the compulsions of self-interest that the US administration may not want to give up any ploy, howsoever untenable it may be, to turn the screw on one that is moving out of the orbit of its influence. And, of course, turn a blind eye to those, who for some reason need to be sheltered from public odium.

Western Media Biased

93AS0870B Lahore *THE NATION* in English
14 May 93 p 6

[Editorial: "Pak-US Talks"]

[Text] US Deputy Assistant Secretary of State John Malott's visit of Islamabad comes in the wake of the Clinton Administration's vow to pursue an "even-handed and regional solution to nuclear proliferation in South Asia." The Foreign Office has already welcomed the new US approach to the nuclear issue, and if John Malott is prone to discussing the long-standing irritant in Pak-US relations in the regional perspective, one would hope for a positive outcome of the US official's visit. Needless to say, Pakistan has been the victim of a policy of arbitrariness and discrimination; singled out as the villain of the piece and constantly browbeaten for an offence which could be said to have been committed by quite a few other states, more so by its big neighbour. If the US is genuinely concerned about nuclear proliferation, and not prompted by ulterior motives to cut Pakistan down to size, then the only viable approach to resolve the issue of nuclear proliferation in South Asia is to see it in the regional perspective. And if Washington has realized the need to pursue an even-handed policy, the next logical step should be to rid Pakistan of the Pressler Amendment and treat on par the nuclear programmes of Pakistan and India. So long as there is no agreement to let South Asia become a nuclear-free zone, it would be unfair, as it has been, to put pressure on Pakistan for a roll-back of its nuclear programme, while India enjoys the impunity to do whatever it pleases in the name of peaceful intentions.

John Malott will have on his agenda issues other than Pakistan's nuclear programme, notably the question of 'terrorism' which has of late been blown out of proportion in the Western media to project Pakistan as a sanctuary for international terrorism. While the Foreign Office officials would explain to him the divergence of perception regarding who is a freedom-fighter and who a terrorist, particularly in the context of the Kashmiris' struggle for freedom, it would be in the fitness of things for the State Department official to recommend to his government a review of its policy on Kashmir to ensure

that the US really lives up to its promise of pursuing an even-handed policy. The US commitment to champion the cause of human rights will be seen in Pakistan as mere lip-service, so long as the Indian atrocities in Held Kashmir are overlooked, while the victims of aggression and state oppression are painted as 'terrorists'. John Malott is scheduled to visit New Delhi after concluding his talks in Islamabad. Hopefully, he will use the opportunity to bring home the message of the US intention to be a little more even-handed in dealing with issues of discord in the region.

India Is Terrorist Too

93AS0870C Lahore *THE NATION* in English
8 May 93 p 7

[Article by Ikram Sehgal: "US and Pakistan: the "Terrorist" Threat"]

[Text] While the US State Department has not included the names of Pakistan and Sudan in the list of terrorist States notified this year to US Congress, on-going consideration for such an eventuality will not cease. Pakistan has been living for some time on a thin line of distinction from countries such as Iran, Libya, Iraq, North Korea and Syria, notwithstanding the morality of an erstwhile ally, the US, in turning 180 degrees around from its own stance during the Afghan war with respect to this commitment to support freedom movements against oppression. One should not be under any illusion that Pakistan's inclusion in "terrorist state" status will not cause great hardships to the country economically and politically. One must also not be under any illusion that the US does not know what is going on inside Kashmir. That would be insulting one's intelligence (and that is not intended as a pun). We are, therefore, back to where we started in 1976 when US Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, promised to make a "horrible example" out of us if we did not desist from our nuclear pretensions. US economic and military aid were then terminated forthwith. That brings us to the final loss of illusion that having been the front line state in the successful prosecution of the "hot" war in Afghanistan (and by proxy the cold war against the Soviet Union) which led to the destruction of the "evil empire" (sic former President Reagan), the nation that opposed the US and its global interests tooth and nail in every forum and at every conceivable opportunity over four decades, India, should now reap the rewards of the various sacrifices that Pakistan gave, especially during the 80s decade. Instead of debating the implications for Pakistan, which are horrendous to contemplate by any description, one should also debate the implications for US policy in the region in the short, medium and long term. Shortly after Pakistan is declared as a terrorist State, Iran's association with Pakistan will deepen significantly. Quoting the foreign Report March 25, 1993 edition published by *The Economist*, London, "Iran proposed to the Pakistan Government, a nuclear cooperation agreement. In return Iran would pick up the bill for Pakistan's entire defence budget, US\$3.5 billion.

Pakistan refused, but for how long?" Out of the necessity of geo-political hometruths rather than any deep-rooted desire, an economic, political and military union will take place almost immediately once the US threat becomes a reality. As much as Pakistanis continue to be apprehensive about Iran's perceived fanaticism a la the Hezbollah movements, we cannot afford to live in complete isolation particularly when a foe like India continues to remain implacable on our eastern borders. Such a confederation may thrill the hearts of some who are vociferous in the propagation of Islamic unity of the Ummah and their beliefs but the great silent majority of Pakistanis would be more than happy to maintain their separate moderate identity.

Once Iran is allied with Pakistan, the bloc of Central Asia has nowhere to go but to become an integral political part of the association that is called the Economic Cooperation Organisation (ECO). One accepts that part of NATO, Turkey would opt out of this Union for everything but economic purposes, but given Turkey's deep historical friendship with Pakistan, Turkey will remain of great support to Pakistan. It is not wishful thinking to surmise that it will certainly not support any economic blockade of Pakistan. As the world knows, Turkey does very much what it feels like, standing firm on its principles much more than other comparable nations. Turkey's friendship with Pakistan is a fact of life that has seen reciprocation over the years. Similarly, Saudi Arabia and UAE have a similar deep-rooted relationship with Pakistan as do the other Gulf countries. The Western countries may try to impose a blockade of sorts on Pakistan but not through Turkey or the Arabs or with their help.

A few days or weeks after the Iran-Pakistan nexus becomes a reality and a boycott of sorts is in force, the pariah on the bloc, Saddam Hussein will land up on the Pakistan-Iranian doorstep, hat in hand, to ask forgiveness for any transgressions done or perceived and request that Iraq be allowed to join the band or at the least have economic interaction, based on the theory that all those in isolation need to be unified against the source of their isolation. This proposal will certainly run against the grain in both countries, Iran more than Pakistan, but adversity has created worse and stranger bedfellows in the past and, one daresay, will in the future. Iraq's aligning itself with the union will put the whole ballgame in the Middle East into a new perspective. Three great but disparate military, political and economic machines would have come together, making the Middle eastern countries (and their oil) seemingly vulnerable even without any hint of an offensive intent or posture of the new bloc. This apprehension would be despite the fact that Pakistan would never do anything that is detrimental in any form to Saudi Arabia or the Gulf countries. In the circumstances, Libya and Syria, despite their various reservations would also be hard put to keep out of some sort of a collaboration with the growing union; Jordan would have to follow suit. Above all, it would put into great jeopardy the cornerstone of US-Arab policy,

the Egyptian armed forces, that entity being much more vulnerable to Islamic pressures than anyone can imagine.

The Arab monarchies in such circumstances would hardly like to become isolated in the Muslim comity of nations. To protect the Western interests vis-a-vis Middle East oil an "operation Desert Shield 2" would have to be implemented in the face of Arab opposition, a massive and permanent US air, ground and naval presence to protect the oilfields from perceived external invasion from the rapidly emerging new bloc. Whether the other Western nations would be willing participants in such a permanent force is open to question. The odds-on favorite as the US proxy in the region is India as a replacement for the Shah of Iran's policeman role envisaged by the US in the 70s. As Islam and Hinduism are on a direct collision course, it would be futile to suggest that anyone in the Middle East would under any circumstances accept the patronage and presence of the Indian military on their soil, notwithstanding the far-out possibility that India would be able to spare any ground and air forces while Pakistan is alive and kicking.

The aforementioned is very much a hypothetical scenario which may well become a reality. As much as it would be a living nightmare for Pakistanis to be associated with the likes of Saddam Hussein in any manner, pragmatism will dictate reluctant acceptance of such an eventuality. While India (and Israel) may try surgical air strikes against our suspected nuclear facilities, which if existent should have been well dispersed anyhow, the net result would be for general proliferation of nuclear know-how throughout the Islamic world, more as a defence mechanism rather than an articulated offensive policy towards the West. The US has been a friend of Pakistan. To paraphrase a Chinese proverb, "Why is the US now using a hatchet to kill a fly on Pakistan's forehead?" While Pakistan must certainly take all measures to defuse the situation, it is imperative that the US be made to appreciate Pakistan's logical and legal position about Kashmir and the inability of any individual in Pakistan, let alone those comprising the government to seal off moral and material support completely to the Kashmiris in Indian-occupied Kashmir. As it is successive governments have been vilified by the Pakistani masses for not giving material support to the Kashmiris while the Indians are perpetrating atrocities of the most inhuman kind in Occupied Kashmir. Is it possible for Pakistanis to stand by and see the Indian version of "ethnic cleansing" in Kashmir, the ridding of Kashmir of Kashmiris by torture, rape, killing, arson, etc? The US is now increasingly articulate about Bosnia, that is because the international media is allowed to report facts as they are. What about Kashmir, will the Indians let an international media team into the Valley?

If the letter of US law is to be followed to its logical conclusions, the US may well declare Pakistan a terrorist state but before that, in the great tradition of American fairplay, let the US Congress send a full-fledged delegation inside Indian-occupied Kashmir to see the situation

for themselves. India's state-sponsored terrorism within and outside India is too well documented to be glossed over but we will accept that also be ignored, however unfair. If what the Congressional delegation sees inside Kashmir conforms to the cherished American beliefs about life, liberty and freedom as enjoined by their own forefathers and for which thousands of American young men have given their lives in distant lands in distant wars for other people's freedom over the years, we will accept our status as a terrorist state.

Before we are pushed into a scenario that may not be so far out as it may seem, let us examine the full implications thereof. We will also accept the consequences that come with the label of a terrorist state as much as the US will have to bear the consequences of discarding a friend it used to call the cornerstone of US policy in the region. This is what the voice of the great silent majority in Pakistan says, the voice of those who believe that we must not turn our backs on the US but that the US must also understand that for Pakistan and Pakistanis it is impossible to turn our backs on Kashmir and its people.

Scholars Condemn U.S. Policy

93AS0870D Lahore *THE PAKISTAN TIMES* in English
8 May 93 p 3

[Ahmad Fraz Khan interviews a variety of Pakistani intellectuals: "Terrorist State Scare for Pakistan"]

[Text] Dr. Hasan Askari Rizvi, Chairman Political Science Department, Punjab University, Lahore, Dr. Mehdi Hassan Assistant Professor in Mass Communication Punjab University Lahore, Mr. Amir-ul-Aziz Secretary Information Jamaat-e-Islami, and Mr. Inayatullah, a columnist participated in the discussions.

Pakistan is on the US watch-list since December last for being declared as a terrorist state. If the US hawks get their way through, Pakistan's economic survival can become next to impossible if not totally impossible: with foreign assistance stopped, foreign remittances squeezing dry and its credibility taking a nose-dive, it would soon be on its knees, begging for mercy, which would only be forthcoming on American terms, because beggars cannot be choosers.

This situation has prompted a national debate in Pakistan, because consequences of being declared a terrorist state are severe and immediate. The most unfortunate part of this debate is that it is being conducted in a miasma of emotionalism. Even writers of great repute are writing on the subject either with anger or with repentance. Designating a state as terrorist is a political decision, because no taxonomy of the term exists. This political decision needs to be countered with politics only. We set ourselves on fundamentally wrong position viz-a-viz politics if we start judging it from any one perspective: invoking *ad nauseam* of morality or escaping into ideology or brain washing the populace don't solve political problems. Unfortunately, the previous government is guilty of these mistakes.

It will not be pedantic to look at the term from academic point of view, and set our perspective right. The term "Terrorism" has acquired pejorative connotation, not only as governments use it but also as revolutionaries or nationalists use it, although its negative usage has not always been the case. The history of the word shows that in the nineteenth century revolutionaries were proud to call themselves terrorists. Only since World War II it has become a term of opprobrium. This negativity has hindered the evolution of a consensus definition of the term, so now it means many things to many people. One author listed 109 definitions for terrorism formulated between 1936 and 1981, and doubtless more have been created since. Yet we do not appear to be any closer to an acceptable generic definition now than we were fifty years ago, and there is not likely to be one in the foreseeable future.

Another obstacle is national self-interest. States and individual are loath to base their responses to political violence on definitional criteria alone, because all too often such responses could conflict with more pressing foreign or domestic policy interests. The diversity of national perspectives on any single group or event makes the task of international consensus necessary for concerted world action against terrorism exceedingly difficult.

This lack of clarity has put even legal experts on the defensive. Legally speaking terrorism is not even a specific legal issue or category, but instead a broader variety of transgression that cuts across a variety of legal lines. For instance, vandalism, murder, and mental cruelty can all play a simultaneous role in a single act of international terrorism. However, this same act may be justified by its perpetrator as the only means available to achieve certain inalienable human rights or other legal goals. While the nature of international terrorism remains largely, though not entirely, inside the vague discipline known as criminal law, definition of motive and the exact abuses of the act remain cloaked in a mantle of situational ethics. Put succinctly, one expert says, international terrorism often presents itself as a nonlegal phenomenon.

While progress has been made in areas such as aerial and maritime piracy, as well as hostage taking, effective or overarching legislation remains elusive.

In the absence of any internationally acceptable definition of terrorism, the term has become a political label rather than an analytical concept, used to condemn one's enemies rather than to specify what it is, and what it is not. The word terrorism itself is so imprecise and emotionally evocative that it can be, and often is, used as a label for a wide variety of often unrelated and incompatible types of activity.

After taking a general account of the term, now let us see how the United States of America looks at the term of how she defines it.

US definition: one US government definition states: "Terrorism is the threat or use of violence of political

purposes by individuals or groups, whether acting for or in opposition to established governmental authority, when such actions are intended to shock, stun, or intimidate a target group wider than the immediate victims. Terrorism has involved groups seeking to overthrow specific regimes, to rectify perceived national or group grievances, or to undermine international political order as an end in itself."

US law: now let us see US law dealing with terrorism called "Termination of Assistance to Countries which Grant Sanctuary to International Terrorists: National Security Exception."

(a) Termination of Assistance and Period of Ineligibility: Except where the President finds national security to require otherwise, the President shall terminate all assistance under this chapter to any government which aids or abets, by granting sanctuary from prosecution to, any individual or group which has committed an act of international terrorism and the President may not thereafter furnish assistance to such government until the end of the one year period beginning on the date of such termination, except that of during its period of ineligibility for assistance under this section such government aids or abets, by granting sanctuary from prosecution to, any other individual or group which has committed an act of international terrorism, such government's period of ineligibility shall be extended for an additional year for each such individual or group.

(b) National security exception: report by President. If President finds that national security justifies a continuation of assistance to any government described in subsection (a) of this section, he shall report such finding to the speaker of the House of Representatives and Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate.

US charges: now let us look at the US charges against Pakistan. Recently Mr. John C. Monjo, US ambassador to Pakistan, while briefing editors of national dailies and new agencies explained American position and charges.

According to Monjo: "Pakistan is supplying arms and training to Kashmiris. The United States is constantly reviewing the charges of terrorism and has impressed upon Pakistan to stop covert supply of arms to Kashmiris. This covert supply of arms is "sponsorship to terrorism." If Indian tanks and army attacked Kashmiri people, it would not be terrorism but a violation of human rights."

The ambassador was not apparently satisfied with the assurances given by Pakistan to clear its name of the charges of supporting terrorism.

"We have our own reliable sources and Pakistan is such an open country that information flows are terrific. You are an open society and we have our sources to know what is actually happening," he said.

He repeatedly described the issue of terrorism as critical for relations between the two countries. But he said, "there was no barometer to watch the activity. They are no red, yellow or green signals."

He said the Pakistan government had repeatedly said that it only provided moral, political and diplomatic support to Kashmiris but "our flow" of information shows mixed reports. This is how Americans take the issue.

To cover the Pakistani perspective THE PAKISTAN TIMES invited some experts from different fields. Following are the excerpts of our discussion:

PT: What could be perspective of judgement for designating a state as terrorist.

Dr. Rizvi: The designation of a state as a terrorist is a political decision, it is always a political decision. We should try to take it as such, and counter it with the same spirit.

Normally it involves three things. Firstly it involves excessive use of force. Secondly, in whose interest a state is using force. That is meant whose interest is being promoted and whose interest is being obstructed. It is at this stage when political considerations come into play, and they are coming into play in Pak-US wrangle. Thirdly, what is status of the state which is trying to designate another state as terrorist state. For example, if Pakistan designates America as a terrorist state, it won't affect the USA. Because Pakistan lacks political clout to enforce its decision. Whereas the USA has such clout. We can see this Pak-US feud in this perspective.

PT: Why is Pakistan being target, when it has time and again refuted all such charges, and condemned all forms of terrorism.

Dr. Mehdi: I think that Pakistan is a victim of American double standard. She is not applying her own rules equally to all countries. The USA is targeting Pakistan for three reasons i.e., terrorism (as Americans define it), nuclear policy and religion.

Now let us see how all three reasons prove of US double standard. Pakistan is being accused of sponsoring terrorism in Kashmir. According to UN resolution, Kashmir is a disputed territory, awaiting solution. How moral support to independent movement of a disputed, illegally occupied territory can be termed terrorism is anybody's guess. On the other hand, Israel, an American stooge, is applying terrorism on Palestinians for the last 45 years, but they have no intention to declare her a terrorist state. America herself had been indulging in terrorism in Korea, Vietnam, China, and more recently in Afghanistan. All this shows that logically speaking this allegation does not carry required weight.

Another is that of nuclear policy. The United States wants to force a roll back, or minimum a freeze on Pak nuclear programme. Pakistan has tied its nuclear programme with India due to its security concerns. India carried out a

nuclear explosion in 1974, Pakistan has not done it so far. One wonders why America has not been applying same kind of pressure on India, who is 19 years older than us in the nuclear field. Why are other nations like Israel or South African being spared? Logically this allegation of US should stand nullified owing to discrimination.

Third reason, and to me the most important one, is religion. Americans, throughout the cold war, successfully painted Soviet communists as a Godless society, and kept it at bay. With the demise of communism, Americans fear that this vacuum could be filled by Islam. Revival of religious movements have only increased their fear. They knew that the most important propaganda tool against communism of being a Godless society won't be effective against Islam. So they have started targeting Muslim states. This is like inventing an enemy. Now they are using different excuses to apply pressure on Muslim states.

Mr. Inayatullah: I think terrorism scare for Pakistan is a cover up. The real US motive is a nuclear freeze or nuclear roll-back. Otherwise I am convinced that Americans know more than us that uprising in Kashmir is totally indigenous. They are using this as an excuse to punish Pakistan for something else. India has already sealed the border. Pakistan is offering deployment of international observers on the Line-of-Control. What else a government can do. If American still wanted to declare Pakistan a terrorist state, who can stop them.

After all Pakistan is a multi-party democracy. Every party has its own manifesto. The government cannot dictate a party what policy it should adopt. Americans as a democratic nation should know it better.

Pakistan has been sending one minister after another to assure America that we are not sponsoring any terrorism, but they are adamant on their stand. I think the Pakistan government has been doing what it should do. Rest is upto America, if they still want to go ahead with the decision, no one can stop them.

PT: Is it only American double standard or there is scope for some soul searching?

Dr. Rizvi: Yes there is a scope for such activity. Of course sponsoring terrorism is not Pakistan's policy but it has failed to clear the fog of confusion and send right signals to the world community. For example, during the Afghan war there was a lot of overlapping between US and Pakistan government interests. We were conducting CIA-sponsored training for Afghan mujahideen. The trainees were not only Afghans but there were Muslim zealots from all over the world. Now, since Afghanistan is not seeing that kind of activity, these people are returning to their homeland carrying a lot of ideological baggage with them, and creating problems for their own government. We failed to check this activity in time which has created some misunderstanding between Pakistan and some Muslim countries.

Then some groups have developed entrenched political interest. Some of these groups were very close to the government. This is evident from the fact that the previous government used those groups in the signing of Islamabad accords. Some leaders of these groups have been making irresponsible statements boasting that they are training people for Jihad. This situation mounted the confusion.

Another source of trouble is that the previous government had been running foreign policy essentially to serve domestic purposes. A government is bound to run into difficulties while carrying out such an exercise. This gave impression, even within the country, that some religious groups are running foreign policy. I think all these things collectively created confusion about Pakistan.

PT: Allow me to put the same question of Dr. Mehdi Hassan.

Dr. Mehdi: In nut shell it is failure of our foreign policy, diplomacy and propaganda warfare. All these fields need to be handled carefully, which is not our strong point in fact it has never been so. We lost propaganda warfare viz-a-viz India much before we lost actual war in 1971. In this advanced age propaganda is a very, rather the only, effective tool in advancement of one's point of view. It needs a coherent, concerted and intelligent effort to counter adversary's offensive and then to advance one's own point of view. We shall have a break to think why we have failed to convince the world about Indian atrocities in Kashmir.

Another failure is of our foreign policy. When blamed for doing something, we start explaining our position. We use to play defensive. If we are convinced that India is committing atrocities in Held Kashmir and we support Kashmiris right to self-determination, then we should declare it as such, we should tell the world that we support this right of theirs, terrorism or no terrorism. The United States herself had been committing terrorism in Korea, Vietnam, China and more recently in Afghanistan. They got away with it every time because their objectives were clear and they stuck to it. We should not always play on the back-foot.

Dr. Rizvi: Support of dissident movement outside one's own country is a policy decision, it is question of neither good or bad. Though it has not been Pakistan's official policy, but unfortunately, the previous government failed to curb the activities of those religious groups who were engaged in such activity. Such decision should be taken by the government, not by pressure groups. Every government has its objectives which should be listed priority-wise, and pursued accordingly. Their pursuit demands a coherent policy. You cannot just hit right, left, here or there. If government decides to pursue a policy then it should be prepared to pay the cost of it. It is most unfortunate that the whole nation should suffer due to wrong policies of certain pressure groups. It is not only America complaining but our complainants include certain Muslim countries and China also. I still say that

it is not government's official policy, but certain religious groups proximity to the previous government created doubts abroad.

This situation becomes more conspicuous when India starts propagating against us on the same grounds. She becomes more convincing owing to our weaknesses. Then our division from within makes the matter worse. Some of our politicians, in order to win foreign sympathies start, criticising government on the same grounds and start embarrassing government. What I want to stress is that the country which suffers division from witching should be extra careful.

PT: Jama'at-e-Islami is being accused of running an independent foreign policy. One example of it is that Qazi Sahib has recently led a delegation of 14 international movements to Afghanistan. These are the movement for which Pakistan is being blamed to train them for terrorism.

Mr. Amir-ul-Azim: The two main areas of Jama'at activity, being questioned are Afghanistan and Kashmir policy. We sincerely believe that policy of Jamaat is the same as should be of any Pakistani. The Jama'at's policy on Kashmir is undisputed. The whole nation agrees to it that Kashmir is part of Pakistan and we have to get it sooner or later. Even UN resolutions treat the territory as such. So I think there should be no second thought to what we have been pursuing.

As far as our Afghan policy is concerned. No doubt that some limited number of politicians and intellectual have always been having some reservations. But allow me to say that time has proved such politicians and intellectuals wrong. Afghans have achieved independence.

Another achievement of our policy is that we have made our border with Afghanistan secure. Now every government in Afghanistan would be under moral obligation to Pakistan. A major chunk of new generation of Afghans has born in Pakistan. They owe a lot to Pakistan due to its help in their hour of need.

This is to say that time has proved Jama'at right. It would be premature to pass a final judgment on Afghanistan situation right now. But we do believe that peace will prevail in Afghanistan, with this peace will come prosperity in Central Asia. So this whole region will become bastion of Islam. This is our opinion and we will stick to it, and pursue it. But it is ridiculous to call it running a foreign policy. Only a government can run foreign policy.

The movements which you here mention are working for Islam in their respective countries. They represent masses of their countries. If we are so fond of democracy, why we don't accept them. These movements have been involved in Afghanistan jihad from last 10 years or so. Why have they suddenly become pariahs? They have helped Afghans win the war, now their role for winning peace is not being accepted.

All is due to American double standard. You can compare US rule in Israel-Palestinian feud, in Iraq, Bosnia, India-Pakistan and look for yourself who lacks coherent policy.

PT: Americans allege that Nawaz government had even privatised what they call training or terrorism, and is being carried out by praise like Jamaat.

Mr. Amir-ul-Azim: No doubt that we collect funds for our Kashmiri brethren. They come and we serve them as brothers. But Jama'at does not run a single training camp. During Afghan jihad we did arrange meetings between Afghan and Kashmiri Mujahideen. Now there may be independent bridge between them, but Jama'at has nothing to do with them as far as training is concerned. Jama'at does not receive a penny from the government as subsidy or grant for any of its activity. American are applying pressure on Pakistan due to their own political ends, and Jama'at is being made a scapegoat for it.

Another point is that uprising in Held Kashmir is popular and indigenous one. Documentaries made even by independent India media are a witness to it. How Jama'at can train the whole population of a state. It can train some people. But movement in Held Kashmir is a mass movement, such movements are result of mass commitment not of foreign-sponsor training.

PT: It is being said that whole US effort is to roll-back Pakistan nuclear programme. Comment

Dr. Rizvi: Such greater international pressure is usually for grater purpose. I think Pakistan nuclear programme can be one part of it, but certainly it has greater implications. For example this policy also serves US interest in terrorism and drugs allegations also.

Another thing is, as I said earlier, that such decisions are political. So we should analyse question of US double standard in the political context. No country runs its foreign policy on the basis of morality alone. Morality is one issue, there are many more issues. Every state makes compromises, and the US makes much more compromises because it is a superpower. She has her fingers everywhere in the world. She becomes more immoral because she has her selfish, narrow interests. We should not feel so much upset about the US double standards. It is a matter of national interest. Put simply, currently the US activities don't serve Pakistan's national interest. During Afghan war national interests of both countries were complementary to each other. Now the US interest is clashing with that of Pakistan. The US activities are embarrassing Pakistan. They are compromising Pakistan's ability to pursue its national interest. Only time has changed, otherwise activities are the same.

PT: What option Pakistan have now?

Dr. Mehdi: Now there are two options before Pakistan. Either it should pursue policies approved by the United States or it should put its foot down and tell Americans that we have our priorities. But it is not as simple as it

looked to be. We have to take some fundamental decisions that what sort of Pakistan we need to have. Whether we want to be lined up with Iraq, Libya or Iran, or we want to be a modern democratic state. If we want to be a defiant state then we have to take nation into confidence. Iraq, Libya and Iran survived the US pressure only because of their oil wealth. We can only survive if the whole nation is prepared to render huge sacrifices. We should simply forget about foreign aid or investment. We should be prepared to live with whatever we have.

Other way is to make Pakistan a modern democratic state. Then combination of our policies will have to be entirely different. We have to accept international (Western) standards of behaviour. Our sovereignty will stand diluted as international companies and agencies will tell us about their own preferences and we will have to accept them.

I don't say what course of action we should adopt. We should remove ambivalence which we, as a nation, have been practicing. We cannot run both policies on parallel level. We should make this fundamental decision and they try to achieve it. Hesitance would only bring more sorrows for us, which we can ill afford now.

PT: As claimed by one of our participant that it failure of our propaganda machinery. What remedial measures would you suggest, keeping in view that the West owns most of the international media.

Mr. Mehdi: I do agree that most of the international media is owned by the west. It is foolish to expect that they could project our point of view. But I also believe that what we lack is not resources but planning. What our embassies have been doing all over the world. They have failed to cultivate proper people I will give you an example. The Cable News Network (CNN) plays important days of different countries. Why no Pakistan's national day is mentioned. It is failure of our embassy concerned.

Look at coverage we are giving to what is happening in Kashmir, except for a stereotype news in *khabarnama*. Our television is being watched in East Punjab, how we treat its news. We have failed to tell the world that at what social cost India is piling up huge stocks of armament. We have failed to take up political subjects in our TV dramas, which are being seen in India and UAE. What I want to stress is lack of planning rather than our sources.

Mr. Amir-ul-Azim: Just to stretch the point of Mr. Mehdi a bit, allow me say that our media has failed to project our Afghan victory. This victory could have used to strengthen our nationalism. It could have removed most of our internal feuds. We should have projected it as our national victory, we could have made films on it and launch search for heroes, but our media failed to treat it as such.

U.S. Trained Terrorists

93AS0870E Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English
30 Apr 93 p 14

[Article: "Terrorists Were Trained in Pakistan by USA: Zaki"]

[Text] Karachi, April 29: "Fundamentalists", or religious militants, were brought into Pakistan from all over the world and trained in terrorism by the USA only to counter the Soviet military presence in Afghanistan.

This was stated by Akram Zaki, Secretary-General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Pakistan while giving a detailed expose of Pakistan's foreign policy at a function organised by the English Speaking Union of Pakistan at a local hotel today.

Talking about the latest Pak-US imbroglio as regards USA moves to declare Pakistan a terrorist state, he said that this problem of terrorism was created jointly and should now be solved jointly, rather than the USA making an abrupt somersault on the issue. He said this problem was a legacy of the US policy towards the Afghan war.

He said Pakistan was dead opposed to terrorism, whether by groups or delinquent states, and was against terrorism involving suppression of struggles for self-determination.

He tacitly acknowledged that the drugs and Kalashnikov menace was a direct outcome of the Afghan Mujahideen's presence in Pakistan, which he said had cost us dearly in terms of social harmony.

Regarding ties with India, he said that the core issue was Kashmir and tension in the region could not be mitigated as long as this problem was not solved. He invited those Western countries who promptly believe all the Indian propaganda against Pakistan to go over to the Indian-held Kashmir and see for themselves the Human Rights violations and the atrocities let loose by the Indians there.

U.S. Said 'Increasingly Hostile' on Terrorism Issue

93AS0862C Karachi HERALD in English
15 May 93 pp 51-55

Excerpts from article by Ahmed Rashid: "The Noose Tightens"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] As the government came tumbling down and a virulent bout of political fever gripped the country's politicians, Pakistani diplomats worldwide were preoccupied with an issue that could threaten the entire edifice of the country's foreign policy. The U.S. threat to label Pakistan a terrorist state still looms over our heads and, despite major concessions made to the Americans by the erstwhile Nawaz Sharif government, Islamabad is

coming under increasing pressure to take effective measures to change the situation on the ground rather than merely issue rhetorical statements.

"The matter is beyond assurances. The Americans are just not listening to us now and something has to change before they do," said one of Pakistan's most senior policy making officials in Islamabad.

The Americans, it is clear, mean business. "Pakistan has supported Muslim militants and Sikh separatists waging terror campaigns against the Indian government. Sudan and Pakistan, while not yet on the state department's list of state sponsors of terrorism, are on the verge of being included on it," said the CIA Chief, James Woolsey, to a high level judiciary committee on April 21, just three days after the dismissal of Nawaz Sharif's government. So crucial has the whole terrorism issue become to future Pakistan-U.S. relations, that U.S. diplomats in Islamabad refused to discuss the issue with the HERALD, saying it had now reached too sensitive a stage.

Woolsey's statement echoed the brutal and blunt message also delivered to Chaudhry Nisar Ali, the former PM's special envoy, by Secretary of State Warren Christopher, only a week earlier in Washington. Before Nasir left Islamabad, he had been warned that the Americans were not impressed by Pakistan's drive to round up the Arabs in Peshawar. "This is just pussy-footing. The real issue is not the Arabs, but the stuff that is getting through to the Kashmiris and the Sikhs," said a western diplomat.

Chaudhry Nisar, for his part, put forward an important concession to the Americans which he thought would convince them of Pakistan's sincerity. The Nawaz Sharif government had decided two weeks earlier to dump ISI [Inter-Service Intelligence] Chief Major General Javad Nasir and replace him with a less controversial general. The prime minister had cleared this matter with both the president and the army chief and the government had decided that General Nasir would be the sacrificial lamb offered to curry favour with the Americans. But this was not to be.

Sources said that Chaudhry Nisar also told the Americans that all training camps for militants had been closed down months ago and that private parties such as the Jamaat who were helping the Kashmiris, would soon be dealt with. The Americans and even local cabinet sources have, however, claimed that Nawaz Sharif has privatised the country's foreign policy by handing it over to the Jamaat. (See HERALD February 1992). The Americans are believed to have told Chaudhry Nisar that they would believe nothing he said, unless they first saw concrete changes on the ground.

"The Americans have filed specific charges against General Nasir—which do not involve the army—for aiding and abetting the Kashmiris and the Sikhs," said a diplomatic source. In previous high level talks between American and Pakistani officials, the Americans claimed

that the general was working closely with the Jamaat-i-Islami [JI] to support Kashmiri militants. The fact that he belonged to the Tableeghi Jamaat was irrelevant. "When it comes to Kashmir, it does not matter which Jamaat you belong to," was the comment of one senior American official, according to informed sources.

Western diplomats say that the Americans are convinced that Nawaz Sharif, under the guidance of IM chief Brigadier Imtiaz, had successfully privatised the funding and support for Kashmiri and Sikh militants, precisely to avoid the state-sponsored terrorist charge.

Washington also alleged that the Pakistani sponsored militants have in turn forged links with other terrorist organisations in the region, including the notorious Tamil Tigers. India has been providing Washington with reams of intelligence material to convince the Americans to nail Pakistan.

One such Indian intelligence paper, circulating in CIA headquarters, has linked Pakistan with the Tamil Tigers. Pakistan, meanwhile, has been unable to counter this Indian flood of allegations because any information emanating from Islamabad is no longer given credence by Washington, including Pakistan's charges that India is funding Sindhi separatists and a section of the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement].

General Nasir, meanwhile, has few supporters in Islamabad. The general had annoyed both the army and the Presidency by his outright support for Nawaz Sharif and the crude manner in which he conducted the Afghan peace operation. Moreover, army generals were aware that, with his flowing beard and his views, he was sending precisely the wrong kind of signals to the U.S. military, which has gone out of its way to support Pakistan's case in Washington.

Even in the Pakistan army's own top level circles, it is said that the general has become an object of ridicule. He is intensely disliked in the Foreign Office and even in the Interior Ministry, which is crowded with Brigadier Imtiaz's cronies and Jamaat cadres. Three top level U.S. officers, who visited Islamabad in the past two months, had made it clear to the GHQ [General Headquarters] that the U.S. Defence Department was doing everything in its power to defuse the terrorist issue. But Pakistan would have had to take concrete measures towards this end as well.

Pakistani officials admit that the Sharif government's failure to replace General Nasir before Chaudhry Nisar went to Washington was a critical mistake. "If he had been dumped first we would have been given a better reception. Instead, the Americans just said 'let's see when he goes—and by the way half the ISI has to be cleared out as well.' Give the Americans an inch and they will take a mile," said an official.

According to some sources, the Americans have gone to the extent of naming middle ranking officials in the ISI whom they want removed. "Pakistan should know by

now that the CIA has one of its best operations inside the Pakistan government. They know of everything going on inside the ISI, amongst the Kashmiri militants and armed smugglers. They have their informants everywhere. You can fool the CIA elsewhere in the world, but not in Pakistan," said a foreign diplomat.

However, there was another debate raging in government circles of which the Americans had got wind before Chaudhry Nisar's arrival in Washington, ensuring that his visit would be a failure. A hardline group within Nawaz Sharif's cabinet, including Sheikh Rashid and Brigadier Imtiaz who were being urged on by the Jamaat chief Qazi Hussain Ahmad, were trying to convince the prime minister to leave foreign policy matters to them. Such a move would have drawn an instantaneous American reaction. "If Imtiaz had won out on this argument, we would already have been declared a terrorist state," reveals one cabinet insider.

In fact, it now appears that Brigadier Imtiaz, in order to save his own political skin, and knowing full well that the Nawaz Sharif government was crumbling, was quite prepared to sink the country's foreign policy as a last measure. Insiders claim that Imtiaz's views and his influence over Nawaz Sharif have been the main reasons for American displeasure with the former prime minister. As a result, they were quite relieved to see Nawaz Sharif go.

The Americans were convinced that Sharif would never get rid of Imtiaz or Javed Nasir, no matter what, and so there was no chance that the IB [Intelligence Bureau] and ISI would give up their covert foreign policy. According to some officials, some of the first tasks to be tackled by the new caretaker government should be to remove the ISI chief, pull out the IB from all foreign covert operations and then hand back charge of the ISI to the army.

Such moves will also allow the army high command to reshuffle its own middle ranking officers, giving greater credibility to Pakistani denials of involvement in sponsoring terrorism. ISI-sponsored stories that have been in the press since April 18—that Benazir Bhutto may tour the world as a special ambassador on behalf of the caretaker government in an effort to convince the world of Pakistan's innocence on the charges of terrorism—will certainly not impress Washington circles.

Pakistani officials are convinced that the terrorism issue has now become the principal bone of contention with the Americans, surpassing even the nuclear issue. Contrary to the view prevailing a few months ago, when the terrorism issue was seen as a cover for American pressure on Pakistan to sign the NPT [Nonproliferation Treaty], high ranking Pakistani officials dealing with foreign policy are now convinced that the nuclear issue is regarded by Washington as a fait accompli.

Meanwhile, terrorism is seen as a live issue which directly affects the American people, as proved by the bombing of the Trade Centre building in New York. U.S. officials constantly repeat one thing: Washington

believes that Islamabad is lying and that Pakistan is a country with which there can be no dealings unless the situation on the ground changes radically.

So serious is the matter that the Americans have invented the notorious 'watch list', specifically so that Pakistan and Sudan (another former U.S. ally) can be put on notice. According to U.S. law, or the U.S. State Department's protocol on such matters, there is no watch list as such. Nevertheless, this category has been invented so that Pakistan's position is made clear to other countries and to its own people.

Moreover, being put on the so-called 'watch list' is all too easy, but getting off it is extremely difficult. Likewise, the inclusion in the list of countries which sponsor terrorism requires little effort, but being taken off the list is next to impossible. Any attempt to remove the stigma of being on the watch list has steadily evaded countries such as Syria, which is now working closely with the Americans on a Middle East peace deal and which fought alongside the Americans in the Gulf war.

For the new government in Pakistan, dealing with the Americans on the terrorist charge will prove their most crucial foreign policy challenge. A failure to defuse this issue by making key changes within the intelligence services as well as reining them in, could deal the country's standing in the international community a mortal blow.

EC Said Opposing Possible U.S. Terrorism Declaration

93AS0894C Karachi DAWN in English
15 May 93 pp 1, 14

[Article by Athar Ali: "EC Opposes U.S. Move: Terrorism"]

[Text] London, May 14—The European Community has begun moves to dissuade the United States from declaring Pakistan as a state which supports terrorism, according to official sources.

The EC has begun "quiet diplomacy" in the matter, sources added.

Britain, which is considered more well placed than some other EC countries to have discussions with the US, has already made contacts with American officials in this regard, it was revealed.

The EC, officials said, feels that it would not be in the interest of the Community and that of the West in general, if Pakistan's name is put on the list of countries which are deemed to be supporting terrorist activities. The EC, in response to suggestions made by the US, has been coordinating its policy and has held consultations among member countries. The EC, in response to suggestions made by the US, has been coordinating its policy and has held consultations among member countries. Discussions were held to arrive at a consensus on

the approach EC should make if pressed by the US to declare Pakistan as a state supporting terrorism.

The question before the EC was whether it should support the US or oppose it. In the end, sources said, it was decided that the US should be approached and asked not to pursue the line it has been taking with regard to Pakistan. "The EC came down in favour of opposing the US moves," officials in London stated.

Britain, it was pointed out, has in the past asked Pakistan not to allow its territory to be used for encouraging militant Kashmiri. But when government officials were asked if they have any substantial evidence of Pakistan's involvement in such activities, they stated that they have no such proof.

They, however, accused certain influential organisations in Pakistan of providing material help to the Kashmiri freedom fighters.

The Indians in the meantime have increased their campaign against Pakistan in recent months and have sent printed material to members of the European Community and European Parliament alleging Pakistani involvement in the Kashmiri and Sikh movements. The Indian Vice-President, Mr R.Narayana, is arriving in London on Monday for a ten-day visit during which he will be speaking at several venues in Britain on India's role in South Asia and threats to Indian unity.

U.S. Seen Responsible for Strain With India

93AS0894E Karachi DAWN in English 17 May 93 p 4

[Text] Karachi, May 16—The deputy chief of Jamaat-i-Islami, Prof Ghafoor Ahmed, has criticised a senior American official for having said the US would watch the impact of personnel changes that have taken place in Pakistan.

The interim Director of South Asia Bureau at the State Department, Mr John Malott, speaking on the issue of terrorism and the US perception about Pakistan at a news conference held in Islamabad on Saturday had said: "Islamabad had taken some steps like removing the ISI [Inter Services Intelligence] chief and Gen Asad Durrani, but the US would watch the impact of the personnel changes that have taken place."

Taking a strong note of the utterances of the US's senior official, Prof Ghafoor told a Press conference here on Sunday that such statement amounted to interference in the internal affairs of Pakistan. By saying so Mr Malott had given an impression that "as if the promotions or retirement in the army in Pakistan is done at the behest of United States," the Jamaat leader remarked.

Accusing the United States of pursuing a "double standards" policy, he said that on the one hand the US did not take any notice of the brutality of Indian forces who had been repeatedly committing atrocities on the innocent citizens of Sopore in occupied Kashmir while on the other hand it (US) threatens to declare Pakistan a

"terrorist" state only because a few Pakistanis had extended support to the victims of Indian forces.

He alleged that the US was the main hindrance in Pakistan and Indian ties as it wanted that tension should continue to prevail in the world so that its ammunition industry could flourish.

Prof Ghafoor asked the Indian government and its people to take stock of the situation prevailing in the occupied Valley, because they cannot crush the freedom movement there.

Mallot Assertions of U.S. Even-Handed Approach Questioned

93AS0894B Karachi DAWN in English 19 May 93 p 11

[Article by Mahdi Masud: "The U.S. as an Honest Broker"]

[Text] It needs a special effort to discuss ways of meeting external threats and dilemmas at a time when we have landed ourselves once again in a serious internal crisis, affecting economic development and political stability and projecting to the world our internal contradictions and weaknesses.

It has been evident all along that in spite of the objectively clear merits of our stand on issues such as nuclear proliferation and Kashmir, there was no way that we could meet the twin-problem of the Indian threat and US pressure without promoting national solidarity, economic progress and political cohesion.

The present month has witnessed important developments in Pakistan, US relations including President Clinton's message to the US Congress on his country's policies in South Asia, the visit to Pakistan of the concerned US State Department official, Mr John Mallot, and the public statements of the US Ambassador. The assurance by Mr Mallot that the US would persuade India to have a dialogue with Pakistan on Kashmir and other differences, is to be welcomed. However, Mr Mallot has also been quoted in the Press as having stated, with reference to the validity of the UN resolutions on Kashmir and the Simla Agreement, that "the latest understanding between India and Pakistan was in Simla. If Pakistan wanted only the UN resolutions to be implemented and considered plebiscite as the only way out, then why did Pakistan sign the Simla Accord?"

Although Mr Mallot knows the UN Charter as much as anybody else, he may wish to refresh his memory on Article 103 which is quoted verbatim: "In the event of a conflict between the obligations of the members of the UN under the present (UN) Charter and the obligations under any other international agreement, the obligations under the present Charter shall prevail." In the first place, therefore, the resolutions of the US Security Council continue to be binding on member states even if there was a conflict with the provisions of any other agreement. In the second place, the provision in the

Simla Agreement about a bilateral dialogue to which Mr Mallot was apparently referring, and to which Pakistan never had any objection, was agreed to, in the language of the Simla Agreement, "without prejudice to the existing position of the two sides" which covers the obligations already incurred under the Security Council resolutions of Kashmir. In view of the clear legality of the above position, Pakistan does not have to recall the circumstances of the Indian invasion and occupation of East Pakistan preceding the Simla Agreement to reply to the US official's question as to why did Pakistan sign the Simla Agreement?

On the nuclear issue, Mr Mallot has defended the Pressler Amendment by stating that "it was a favour for Pakistan," by setting a cut-off point in nuclear development, prior to which aid for Pakistan and normal relationship would have continued, if the line had not been crossed by Pakistan in 1990. How much fairer and more even-handed it would have been if the same favour had been extended to India precluding it from carrying out the nuclear explosion of 1974 and subsequent significant development in nuclear, military capability! If the US 'favour' had been extended in the same way to both sides, at this point of time when Pakistan is being asked to roll back its alleged nuclear programme to 1990, India would have been even-handedly asked to roll back to, when, 1974?

On the issue of terrorism, there should be no question of Pakistan support for terrorist activities against civilians, in Kashmir or elsewhere.

It is important, however, that unfair pressure is not applied on Pakistan with a view to releasing India from the momentum of a genuine moment for self-determination for which the Kashmiris have made very high sacrifices. The stakes on the terrorism issue are high not only for Pakistan, which is obvious, but also for the United States in view of the implications of pushing Pakistan into the corner of radical Islamic forces in the strategic sensitive areas of South-West Asia and the Gulf. The US strategy appears to be, not to take any precipitate action of declaring Pakistan a terrorist state but to keep the sword of Damocles hanging on Pakistan's head and to pressure it step-by-step to withdraw all types of effective support for the Kashmiris.

In a report on South Asia submitted to the US congress in early May 1993, under the Foreign Assistance Act, President Clinton has suggested an Indo-Pakistan dialogue on Kashmir and confidence-building and short-term measures, including demilitarisation of Siachen Glacier, cutoff of fissionable material production, a regional agreement not to conduct nuclear explosion and extension of the Indo-Pakistan agreement on refraining from attacking each other's nuclear facilities to a commitment not to attack populated areas. In order to promote regional security and nuclear non-proliferation in South Asia, through the initiation of dialogue on Kashmir and the five-power conference on nuclear non-proliferation, the only way is for the US to link regional

security issues to the economic benefits India derives with strong US support, from the multilateral aid agencies. About eleven billion dollars in consortium aid, structural adjustment facility and other World Bank and IMF credits are being received annually by India. In the case of Pakistan, the US has already used this pressure through the suspension of bilateral American aid.

While bilateral US aid to India is not significant, the US House of Representatives voted in June 1991 to deny aid to India if she "added to her nuclear explosive devices."

In the interest of regional and world peace, the World Bank and IMF reform programme for India should reach beyond issues such as liberalisation, privatisation, fiscal discipline, etc. A senior official of the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Rodney Jones, has urged in the WASHINGTON QUARTERLY (winter 1992) that bilateral donors (the Aid-to-India Consortium) and multilateral creditors should act as a catalyst for achieving regional security in South Asia, as the crying prerequisite for economic development. This should be done, in view of the US official, by refusing to separate economic benefits being bestowed on India from pressing security issues including the resolution of the Kashmir dispute (with its effect on military budgets and economic deprivation in the subcontinent) and the convening of the five-power conference on nuclear non-proliferation treaty, already agreed to by the US, China, Russia and Pakistan with India being the only hold-out. Rodney Jones has concluded his article with the statement that "with a million mutinies in India (a reference to V.S. Naipaul's book), India's foreign creditors are entitled to act a little more mutinously in the interests of South Asia."

It is India around which South Asia revolves and it is India, which owing to its size and resources, determines the prospects of peace or war in the area. In spite of the political map showing a number of independent states in South Asia, the Delhi mind-set retains the concept of South Asian political unity. James Clad, a respected analyst, has made a very perceptive observation that "there is no truly sovereign state on the borders of India, except Pakistan," the independence of the rest being fettered by limitations either under treaty obligations with India, as in the case of Sikkim or in effect as in the case of others. Pakistan, although guilty of intending to remain a truly sovereign state, gives the highest priority to establishing durable peace with India, for which a US role may be a positive factor, provided it is even-handed and provided it is the role of an "honest broker."

Mallot Visit Criticized, U.S. Seen Issuing Threats

93AS0892D Karachi JANG in Urdu 20 May 93 p 3

[Article by Sultan Rafi: "Killed by Mere Threats...."]

[Text] John Mallot, director of South East Asian affairs in the U.S. state department, recently toured the subcontinent on an important ambassadorial mission. He first visited Pakistan and then India. During his brief visit to

Islamabad, he met with the provisional prime minister and high officials of the foreign ministry and discussed matters of mutual interest. He then held a press conference and, in blunt terms, presented U.S. views on Pak-U.S. relations and other international issues. His tone was curt and quite aggressive. On terrorism, Kashmir, Afghanistan, Pakistan's nuclear program, the Pressler amendment, Pak-India relations, narcotics smuggling, in short on every issue, he rejected Pakistan's views and explanations and unilaterally condemned Pakistan. He did not refrain either from issuing covert and overt threats.

John Mallot said that the United States had received reliable reports to the effect that armed groups in Kashmir supported by Pakistan were killing innocent Kashmiris. He rejected any similarity between Kashmir's freedom movement and Afghanistan's struggle for liberation and said that because the mujahedeen were facing Russian troops in Afghanistan the U. S. helped the Afghans but that such was not the case in Kashmir (this in spite of the fact that in Kashmir as well, several hundred thousand Indian troops have been trying to crush Kashmir's freedom lovers over the last 40 years and have been committing endless atrocities against innocent Kashmiris but Mallot is unable to see that). In answer to a journalist's question regarding the referendum promised in UN resolutions, Mallot asked why, if Pakistan would not accept any solution to the Kashmir problem other than a referendum, had Pakistan signed the Simla agreement with India. (Only the late Bhutto can answer Mallot's question and he is not alive any more; the people of Pakistan have been kept in the dark regarding this agreement and they still do not know what the "Simla agreement" really was and whether any bargaining was done in regard to Kashmir).

In regard to the accusation of terrorism made against Pakistan, Mallot's tone was ironical. He said that recently, Pakistan had taken steps to expel a number of Afghan "terrorists" and had also dismissed the head of ISI (Pakistan's agency for covert action) and some generals (he mentioned the name of General Assad Durani); he added that the United States would keep an eye on the results of these "changes" and would be able to say only later whether the measures had been effective. He said that every April the U.S. government sent the Congress a list of terrorist countries; that United States had kept Pakistan under constant "watch" and that its decision in regard to terrorism would be based on Pakistan's future actions; that at any rate, any country's name could be added to the list of terrorists. (Mallot's attitude was exactly like that of the police constable in our country who summons a "No. 10" convict to the police station to admonish him. He warns the convict to report to the station every morning and evening and to behave himself or he would suffer the consequences.)

In regard to Pakistan's nuclear program, John Mallot said that in the past, the United States had made Pakistan the offer that it would receive billions and billions of dollars from the United States on condition

that it kept its nuclear program confined within a certain limit; but that Pakistan had not listened to the United States and in 1990, it had secretly exceeded the limit; hence, Pakistan had to suffer the punishment for (disobedience). Press representatives wanted to know if, following the talks being held between United States and Pakistan, there was any possibility that the Pressler amendment (ending military and economic aid to Pakistan) would be changed in the future (in other words, was there any chance that Pakistan would be forgiven). Mallot replied that the United States was not interested in any unilateral concession to Pakistan; that if Pakistan wanted any softening of the amendment, it would have to roll up and push back its nuclear program to the designated limit.

Admonishing Pakistan for its involvement in narcotics smuggling, Mallot said that Pakistan was among three countries regarded with grave doubts by the U.S. Congress and that the Congress expected Pakistan to undertake decisive measures.

Mallot was asked why the United States was so concerned about the Third World (especially Pakistan) that it kept asking it to do this and not to do that. Mallot answered with a frown that the United States was now the undisputed leader of today's world and the only super power and hence it was fulfilling the duty of fashioning guiding principles and standards for the rest of the world and seeing that they were carried out. This attitude indeed illustrates the saying that the spell is too obvious to be denied [sic]. This also shows that George Bush's new world order is still in force and being promoted by the new President Clinton.

After issuing these "orders" John Mallot left for the United States by way of New Delhi but he left the people of Pakistan in a state of uncertainty. He left Pakistan's ruling authorities and politicians floundering in a sea of anxiety; everyone is seen plunged in despair and shaking with fear over the threat of being called terrorist by the United States. Even though Benazir Bhutto, the leader of the opposition, in her recent trip to the United States asked for time to allow Pakistan to present evidence on its behalf and to undertake the measures required by the United States, and John Mallot graciously acceded to her request and announced the "good news" that the decision would be postponed till April of next year (although the "watch" will continue and if any transgression is noticed, action may be taken); nevertheless, most of our ministers, advisors, financial experts, bankers and budget preparers continue to harp on a single note and lose weight at the thought of what will happen if the United States and international financial institutions stop their economic and military aid to Pakistan. They are busy trying to prove by statistics that if foreign aid is stopped, the nation will die of hunger and the army will become helpless. They clearly show that they have no confidence either in the eternal God or in their own capabilities. They are ignorant of the struggles of honorable and dignified nations and have no faith in the saying: all that is needed is the courage of men and the

help of God. They have forgotten the history of Islam and even the history of Pakistan and the reason for its creation. [Such trepidation] shows that as a nation, we are morally and spiritually bankrupt and have become cowards. No amount of regret and sorrow can compensate for our condition.

The poet Ghalib has said, He who cannot not stand the heat of battle dies when threatened/ Only warriors can bear the brunt of battle.

Our "benefactors" the United States and other Western countries are happy that without their lifting a finger, all that they wanted has been accomplished. By merely threatening to accuse Pakistan of terrorism, they have made us kiss their feet. The objectives which they failed to gain even after economically and politically ostracizing Iran, Libya, Syria, Cuba, North Korea and other countries and confiscating their "properties;" the success which eluded the United States and Western countries even though they attacked Iraq and destroyed it, all these they have gained easily by merely frightening Pakistan with the bogey of "terrorism." What a lesson can be learned here!

U.S. Diplomatic Approach Termed 'Coercive'

93AS0894I Lahore *THE NATION* in English
20 May 93 p 4

[Article by Hasan-Askari Rizvi: "Major Issues in Pak-U.S. Relations"]

[Text] The latest diplomatic exchanges between Pakistan and the United States aim at reducing divergence in their perspectives on a number of political and security issues. What adds to the significance of these moves is the fact that the two governments have indicated through statements and actions that they want to check the downward slide in their relations dating back to 1990. The policy statement on South Asia issued by the Clinton Administration on 28 April 1993 makes one optimistic that a serious pursuance of the objectives outlined therein can facilitate the removal of the major irritants in Pakistan-US bilateral relations. The visits of three senior American military commanders, including Admiral Charles Larson (C-in-C Pacific Command) and General Joseph P. Hoar (C-in-C CENTCOM) in March and April 1993 respectively, and two officials of the State Department—Ms Robin Raphel, and John Mallot—in May, explored the prospects of improvement of ties. Similarly, Benazir Bhutto's semi-official visit to the US in May helped to understand each other's position on their bilateral differences.

Despite an overall cordiality in their relations, strains have often surfaced in Pakistan-US relations. This is mainly due to differences in their national interests and perceptions of their roles in the comity of nations. The United States operates with a global perspective and its South Asia policy in an appendage to its global policy.

Pakistan's worldview is dominated by its regional security considerations. India being the major security concern. What enjoys the highest priority on Pakistan's security agenda does not necessarily have a similar relevance to American security interest in South Asia and elsewhere. The wider the gap between the security considerations of the two countries at a particular point of time, the greater are differences in their perspective. Pakistan feels frustrated that the US is not fully responsive to its security needs. The US complains about Pakistan's efforts to drag it into regional/local problems which may not be directly relevant to its interests as the superpower.

The latest differences have cropped up in the backdrop of the changing regional and international environment. Pakistan and the United States had developed very close relations in the diplomatic, economic and security fields, including US weapon transfers, in the context of the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan (December 1979-February 1989). However, as the Soviets withdrew from Afghanistan, Pakistan's strategic importance declined for the US. What really strengthened the US position and role was the Soviet efforts under Mikhail Gorbachev to seek American economic assistance, followed by the disintegration of the Soviet Union in December 1991. This left the US as the strongest military power in the international system with no countervailing superpower to neutralise some of its activities.

These developments enabled the US to revise its foreign policy agenda. Naturally, the relationship that had shaped up between Pakistan and the US in the eighties could not be sustained. The US was no longer willing to carry on with covert linkages with and arms supply to the Afghan resistance groups through Pakistan's ISI [Inter Services Administration] and the Islamic groups which were working amongst the Afghans in collaboration with the ISI.

Pakistan felt direct pressure of the new American approach on three major issue areas: (i) nuclear non-proliferation, (ii) the activities of the Afghan resistance groups, especially the imparting of military training by these groups to radical Islamic elements from various Islamic countries and (iii) the narcotics issue.

The US suspended new economic assistance and military sales to Pakistan in October 1990 by invoking the Pressler Amendment, claiming that Pakistan had crossed the 'danger' limit in the field of nuclear technology in the spring of 1990. The senior Pakistani officials have admitted that Pakistan has the capability to produce nuclear weapons but they deny possessing any nuclear weapon or device. They have also stated that Pakistan has frozen its nuclear programme at the 1989 level. However, the US Administration wants Pakistan to rollback its nuclear programme without giving any weight to Pakistani security concerns and its proposals for checking the threat of nuclear weapons proliferation in South Asia.

From Pakistan's standpoint, any non-proliferation policy for South Asia must meet two major conditions. First, it must apply equally to Pakistan and India. Second, it must take into account Pakistan's security predicament. Pakistan which suffered from an acute sense of insecurity due to sharp disparity with India in conventional military power, cannot be expected to give up its nuclear weapon option if India does not accept the need of doing so.

The latest policy statement of the Clinton Administration speaks of a "comprehensive, incremental, and long-term approach" to non-proliferation and that they will address themselves to "the underlying security concerns that drive the weapons programmes in each country." If these objectives are pursued in an even-handed and non-discriminatory manner, and both India and Pakistan are made to realise that they owe a joint responsibility to check the proliferation of nuclear weapons, Pakistan will be favourably disposed towards freezing its nuclear programme. However, any attempt to single out Pakistan for sanctions, denial, or export controls will not contribute to non-proliferation in South Asia.

The US need to encourage a dialogue between Pakistan and India at the bilateral or multilateral level for evolving a new security regime for South Asia involving Confidence Building Measures (CBM), arrangements for checking nuclear weapons proliferation, a cap on conventional weapons race, and mutual reduction of military strength. It may be many years before these objectives are achieved but a beginning has to be made. The sooner it is done the better. The US and other friends of South Asia can facilitate this process.

An issue of divergence between Pakistan and the US pertains to American threat to designate Pakistan as a terrorist state. They communicated this threat to Islamabad at various official and unofficial levels, claiming that the latter was serving as a sanctuary and a base for terrorist activities by a host of militant groups. This related to the linkages between the Kashmiri nationalist elements and Afghan resistance groups. Additionally, a large number of Arab and other Muslim volunteers belonging to various militant Islamic movements had joined hands with the Afghan resistance to fight against the Soviet troops in Afghanistan. This linkage continued after the departure of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and many Islamic militants who got training with Afghan groups based in and around Peshawar returned to their home countries and engaged in violent activities against their respective governments. The target governments which included friendly Muslim states, complained to Pakistan about such training activity on Pakistani territory.

The ousted Pakistani government led by Nawaz Sharif was finding it difficult to contain such activity as influential Pakistani elements within the official circles or having links with them were sympathetic to the military activity of the Afghan resistance groups, especially their linkages with Islamic militant groups elsewhere. The new

Pakistani government has now adopted some quick and resolute steps to contain Arab militant-Afghan resistance military activity and has sent back over one thousand Arabs and other Muslims associated with Afghan refugees and resistance. This has produced some positive results as the US Administration has decided to observe the situation for some time more before taking a decision on the terrorism issue. The US can facilitate the efforts of the Pakistan government if it uses its influence to persuade India to stop persistent violation of human rights in Kashmir. The Kashmiri cause enjoys widespread support in Pakistan for understandable reasons. If the situation in Kashmir improves, it will be easy for Pakistan to contain Afghan militant activity.

Similarly, drug trafficking has also undermined Pakistan's reputation in the international system. An impression exists outside of Pakistan that its government was unable or unwilling to contain this problem. The US and Saudi Arabia are said to have provided Pakistan with names of people involved in their trade; some of them happen to be close to the power structure. The new Pakistani government needs to examine this issue carefully. If any names have been provided by foreign governments, these need to be scrutinised in order to check how far such information is correct. However, a clear policy of discouragement to poppy production and drug trafficking will help to boost the Pakistani image abroad. It will also save Pakistani domestic politics from the corrupting influence of drug barons.

However, the US policy of singling out Pakistan for punitive action on the nuclear issue or any other matter may satisfy some domestic lobbies in the US, but it will not be helpful to the solution of the problems. The nuclear issue acquires a national prestige dimension and it is viewed as an exercise of sovereignty by a nation-state if pressure is applied in a discriminatory fashion. This makes it difficult for any Pakistani government, especially when it happens to be politically weak, to accept limits on its nuclear programme. Similarly, the issues of 'terrorism' and narcotics can be dealt with effectively if these are not used for engaging in propaganda campaigns against Pakistan. It requires patient diplomacy and a close cooperation between the two governments. The Government of Pakistan also faces serious political and administrative problems while dealing with the terrorism and drug problems. These sensitivities call for caution and the use of political means rather than a heavy reliance on coercion, as suggested by several American circles.

U.S. Pressure Over ISI Chief Claimed

93AS0894D Karachi DAWN in English 20 May 93 p 1

[Article by Shaheen Sehba: "U.S. Won't Like Comeback of Former ISI Chief]

[Text] Islamabad, May 19—United States diplomats in Pakistan are understood to have quietly conveyed to the relevant Pakistani authorities they would not like to see

the sacked leadership of the famous ISI [Inter Services Intelligence] stage a comeback.

Well placed sources told DAWN the US officials got alarmed when they heard about the meetings between the ousted prime minister, Mr Nawaz Sharif and the sacked ISI chief, General (retd) Javed Nasir, recently.

"Let me tell you they are really concerned and they have conveyed to us that if, through the restoration of the National Assembly by a favourable Supreme Court judgment or through elections, the old ISI stewardship was reinstated, the chances of Pakistan being declared a terrorist state would increase decisively," a source said.

The ISI chief was sacked by the caretaker government both from his post and from the army after repeated complaints by the United States that he was protecting 'terrorists' and trying to meddle in the affairs of other countries.

The decision of the Mazari Cabinet was welcomed by Washington and Mr John Malott, the acting Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, had stated while in Islamabad recently that it was a step in the right direction but the US would watch the impact of the change before coming out with a definite reaction.

The meeting between Mr Nawaz Sharif and General Javed Nasir and the publication of their picture in the newspapers has done real damage as it has sent a negative signal to the US authorities that chances of a comeback of the sacked ISI managers did exist, Pakistani sources say.

"This change in the US attitude has come in the last couple of days and this is not a good thing at a time when Pakistan is trying hard to establish that it had nothing to do with terrorism and whatever objections Washington had were being removed," a concerned Pakistani official said.

No senior Foreign Office executive was available for comment and a spokesman for Mr Sharifuddin Pirzada, the Foreign Minister, said Mr Pirzada has left for United States on Wednesday and was not available.

A well-placed source, however, said Pakistan was trying to reassure the Americans that if any mistakes were committed by the ousted governments of Mr Nawaz Sharif, the caretakers would not repeat the same and the relevant authorities would ensure that any new government would also take extraordinary care not to damage the country's interests.

Asked to comment on the letter written by the British Prime Minister, Mr John Major to Mr Nawaz Sharif, the source said it was normal courtesy that Prime Minister usually write to those of their counterparts who are no more in office.

"Don't read too much into Mr Major's letter as probably the cricket grid has also worked to a degree," the source commented. Both Mr Sharif and Mr Major are cricket lovers.

The British authorities, including their concerned minister, the source said, had in fact thanked Pakistan for the role played by Islamabad in making the release of the three kidnapped Western diplomats possible from Afghan fighters.

"It was a positive signal from the caretaker government showing to the Western world that the new leaders were able to handle such complicated matters to the satisfaction of the civilised world," the sources said.

U.S. Declared Public Enemy Number One

93AS0931B Karachi JANG in Urdu 23 May 93 p 3

[Article by Sayyed Shah Aziz Imam: "Our Politics, Kashmir, and Nuclear Program"]

[Text] In the 16 May 1993 issue of JANG, statements by U.S. Deputy Secretary of State John Mallot were printed. He made these statements during a conversation with journalists in Islamabad. The U. S. deputy secretary of state said that the issue of Pakistani aid to Kashmiri mujaheddin has been an important issue of discussion. He also mentioned an assurance by Pakistan and explained the U.S. desire that Pakistan follow up on this situation. In addition, he cited the dismissal of two senior military officers as encouraging steps in this direction.

The report also mentioned that Mallot stated that the United States has commended Pakistan's reaction to stopping the Pakistani nuclear program. These are important news items. But it is an embarrassing situation that two senior military officers were dismissed to please the United States. Their work was related to the Kashmir front. How does a messenger from another country have the right to interfere in Pakistan's administrative affairs? Our history has repeatedly demonstrated the fact that rulers who had the support of the United States, had nothing but humiliation and shame in their fate. The opinions that the associate chairman of the PPP [Pakistan People's Party], Benazir Bhutto, used to express on Kashmir and the nuclear program during the chief ministership of Nawaz Sharif, and for which she had the U.S. support, has become the official policy of the present caretaker government. Mohammed Nawaz Sharif became prime minister after Benazir Bhutto, and he reinstated the lost pride of Pakistan. The U.S. ambassador used to visit the Pakistani prime ministers any time he wanted, and was given the title of viceroy, but he had a hard time getting an appointment with Nawaz Sharif. Under these circumstances, it was important to follow this policy for our national pride.

Mr. Nawaz Sharif adopted the policy so that he could look eye to eye with the United States and other countries and talk with his head held high. The United States of America, which was the only superpower left, could not tolerate Nawaz Sharif's policy. It wanted to make Pakistan its dependent nation. It also tried to create all kinds of problems for Pakistan. It stopped military aid and withdrew its hand from all kinds of cooperation. In every country under American influence, Pakistan began to face problems in getting cooperation. The United States tried to make matters difficult for Pakistan in those countries. But Pakistan did not compromise its pride and respect.

Mr. Nawaz Sharif's government was dismissed, and the United States arranged to run things here as it wished. Mr. John Mallot's statement has clarified the position of the present caretaker government of Pakistan. The present government lacked the courage to announce this policy itself. It is the responsibility of our president to explain to the nation whether he established this caretaker government to arrange elections in the country or to practically put Pakistan under U.S. control. This government has no right to make such fundamental changes in such important issues. Quaid-i Azam said that Kashmir was Pakistan's artery. Now, instead of protecting this artery, we are leaving it at the mercy of the United States of America. These two senior military officers were responsible for protecting this artery from India. The United States of America had them dismissed. The most serious thing is that our nuclear program is being drastically changed at the instruction of the United States of America.

The anti-Pakistan attitude of the United States is so bad that we must think deeply and quietly about how to counter it. Some political parties cry out at the top of their voices that this tendency is wrong and senseless. They try to make it appear to people outside of Pakistan that a huge jihad will take place in Kashmir. As a result, our foreign opponents, including the United States of America and India, increase their activities against Pakistan. Some political parties encourage the enemies of Pakistan by raising such slogans. Be it the Kashmir issue or the nuclear program, we should plan quietly and be prepared in order to be strong enough to attack our enemies effectively. This is what Allah and his teachings tell us, and it is what we practiced in the past. It has been the Jamaat-i-Islami's policy to say the names of Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif in the same breath when it comes to the United States of America.

Mr. Mohammed Nawaz Sharif of the people's interest and our national pride, and in some cases, he is just like the U.S. enemy, President Saddam Hussein. All of his actions have helped the U.S. interests. The people of Pakistan, under the leadership of Nawaz Sharif, will destroy America's unholy goals.

Western Imperialism's Crusade Blamed for Political Turmoil

93AS0930B Lahore NIDA-I-KHILAFAT in Urdu
24 May 93 p 16 (back cover)

[Press Release: "The Political Dissension Is Part of the International Crusade."]

[Text] Lahore, 7 May: According to Dr. Israr Ahmad, the leader of Tanzim-I-Islami and supporter of Tahrir-I-Khilafat-I-Pakistan [Pakistan Caliphate Movement], the political struggle in Pakistan reflects the "crusade" which is taking place in the Islamic world on various fronts between Western imperialism and Islamic fundamentalism. In the conclusion of his Friday sermon in the Dar al Salaam mosque in Bagh-I-Jinnah, Israr Ahmad commented on the present political conditions and said that Nawaz Sharif was receiving strong support in the cities, but, contrary to expectation, the caretaker government also was becoming stronger; the general view had been that the hastily put together government, like a house built partly of bricks and partly of rubble gathered from here and there, would collapse in a short time. Israr Ahmad said that Pakistan's politics had always been managed by feudal landlords, sardars, and landowners. In Punjab politics, in particular, it was a political phenomenon to see a man from the city, who was an industrialist, gain office. The real supporters of the deposed government were merchants and industrialists whose influence did not extend beyond the cities. Dr. Israr Ahmad said that it was quite clear that a struggle between rural and urban areas had started because, even at the present time, rural areas were run by feudal landlords and landowners who had easily obtained and abundant income and plenty of leisure time to continue their avocation of politics. He said that industrialists did not usually gravitate toward politics, and that, if Nawaz Sharif's capable, experienced and extremely efficient father had not relieved him of the responsibility of running a business, Sharif would never have ventured into the political arena.

Dr. Israr Ahmad said that if Nawaz Sharif stood firm and his movement continued to gain strength in cities at the present rate, he would obtain the support of religious elements as well and the movement would once again raise the slogan of the Islamic system or the Mustafa system [Mustafa another name for prophet Mohammad] because fundamentalists roots were strong in urban areas; however, success may not be possible because Western imperialism was seeking to uproot Islamic fundamentalism and the new rulers of Pakistan, namely imperialism-nurtured feudal landlords and landowners, enjoyed the support of international imperialism that as a result, the political struggle in Pakistan had become a part of the international crusade carried on by Western imperialism against Islamic fundamentalism. Referring to Benazir Bhutto's visit to the U.S., Dr. Israr Ahmad said that she appeared to be travelling in the capacity of a supreme ambassador or minister. She enjoyed the support of American and Western imperialism because she herself had complained that the kind of terrorism which fundamentalists in Algeria and Egypt were resorting to threatened Pakistan as well, hence, help was

needed. Dr. Israr Ahmad said that in Pakistan feudal landlords, landowners, and atheists were forming a front and that difficult times were ahead for those who spoke of religion. He said that in view of the situation Islamic fundamentalist parties should review their policies and adopt correct methods, but that, unfortunately, there were no signs that this was being done.

International Financial Institution's Demands Criticized

93AS0931A Karachi JANG in Urdu 8 Jun 93 p 3

[Editorial: "Demand for Unilateral Reduction in the Defense Budget"]

[Text] International economic agencies, as well as some countries that give aid to Pakistan, are continuously pressuring Pakistan to reduce its defense budget. Their stated reason is that, if Pakistan makes defense reductions, it will help slow down the arms race in this region and stabilize the peace and law and order situation. In addition, a reduction in the defense budget will allow spending increases on the basic needs of Pakistan's citizens, especially in the areas of education, health, employment, and accommodation. It will also help accelerate development plans. If we look superficially, this goal is one whose importance we cannot deny, because in not only Pakistan, but the whole continent and especially south Asian countries, the backwardness and poverty of the people compels us to spend money on basic necessities instead of modern weapons. Thus, these citizens can become members of a civilized and prosperous society. But the attractiveness of this logic becomes ineffective when the fact that this demand is entirely unilateral dawns on us, and that all these demands are being made on Pakistan only. The only country in this region which has strained relations with all of its neighbors, including Pakistan, is India. It dreams of becoming a mini-superpower in this region, and it is stockpiling weapons. India has openly interfered in the internal affairs of Sri Lanka, Maldives, Sikkim, and Bhutan. It has dammed the waters of its rivers to destroy the economy in Bangladesh. It is committing atrocities on the Muslims of occupied Kashmir. This is a country whose rulers have never accepted Pakistan's existence honestly and is involved in terrorism in Pakistan, especially in the Sindh province. It is a country where the largest minorities—Muslims, Sikhs, and the untouchables—have lost their lives, property, and respect. Muslims are massacred like "cutting carrots and radishes" on a daily basis, and there is not one Sikh family in East Punjab without a member who has been killed by the military or the police. India is busy preparing nuclear weapons, has ties with Israel, and is planning to teach a lesson to Pakistan. It has placed the Prithvi missile on the Pakistan border and has forced the urban population in the Rajasthan sector to move. Sending armed forces, as well as all of its warlike activities, serve as living proof of India's aggressive designs. Why is not India asked to reduce its defense budget to help establish peace in this region? Why is Pakistan pressured repeatedly? None of the Pakistani governments have accepted this demand by the World Bank and the IMF to jeopardize Pakistan's national security

and endanger its independence. Thus, the present government of Pakistan has also rejected this demand to reduce our defense budget. The government has interpreted the wishes of the people by doing so. At the same time, they have not compromised our national security and defense just for getting aid from these organizations. There is no doubt that, since the United States has stopped military and economic aid to Pakistan, we are facing money problems; however, the policy of liberal economics and independent enterprise adopted by the government has helped to increase foreign investment here. The trend is to expand our resources and use them appropriately. Therefore, Pakistan is in a position to unilaterally reject the demands that would threaten its independence and national pride. Pakistan wants all of South Asia, India, and the Indian Ocean to be free of nuclear weapons. But as long as India chooses not to sign the NPT [Nonproliferation Treaty], Pakistan will not agree to any agreement unilaterally. This would make Pakistan a "delicious morsel" for its hungry neighbor. The government of Pakistan's decision is commendable, because it relates to our country's independence, existence, and defense. There is no room for unilateral agreement in this context.

U.S. Said Pursuing Own Agenda in Somalia

93AS0958B Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 14 Jun 93 p 6

[Editorial: "American Action in Mogadishu."]

[Text] The same circles who have been opposing the use of force in Bosnia are conducting intensive bombing and shooting in Somalia. All aid to the famine stricken people of Somalia has been halted while the barracks of Mohammad Farah Aideed are being targeted. In the name of the United Nations, the U.S. is doing in this Muslim country what it did in Iraq with the cooperation of its allies.

The UN and American media are spreading the propaganda that all this activity is in retaliation for the death of Pakistani soldiers. But the people of Pakistan know very well that the U.S. sent troops to Somalia to carry out its own objectives, one of which is to isolate Sudan by building a fortified wall around it and another is to find justification for stationing troops in this part of Africa as it has stationed troops in the Gulf states. To protest this cunning move by the U.S., large demonstrations were held throughout Pakistan on Friday under the auspices of Jamaat-i-Islami. The government of Pakistan is being asked to recall its troops from Somalia and not to send troops to any other country merely in order to please the U.S. All events and circumstances point to the fact that there was a deliberate plan to endanger Pakistani troops in Somalia; when Pakistani troops were attacked, UN forces did not come to their aid. It appears that the UN and U.S. planned this move in order to besmirch the honor of the Pakistani army. In addition to Somalia, in Cambodia as well Pakistani troops have clashed with Khmer Rouge attackers.

These two incidents took place a few days after Pakistan offered to send Pakistani troops to Bosnia as part of a

UN peacekeeping force. The U.S. and European countries do not want Pakistani troops to be sent to Bosnia. They cannot openly show their opposition, but through incidents in Somalia and Cambodia, the enemies of Pakistan can defame Pakistani troops. In short, keeping Pakistani soldiers in Somalia and Cambodia only serves U.S. interests and strengthens its military objectives.

Paper Condemns 'Double-Standards' of U.S. Foreign Policy

BK0407154193 Rawalpindi JANG in Urdu
3 Jul 93 p 10

[Editorial: "Peace in the Middle East and the United States"]

[Text] In response to the Arab countries' criticism of the United States for not playing a role in Bosnia as it did in Iraq, the latter argued that the issues of Iraq and Bosnia are not identical and therefore the United States cannot be accused of pursuing double-standards in its foreign policy. When the United States attacked Iraq after the seizure of Kuwait, it not only had the backing of its allies, but the Arab countries and the government of Pakistan were at the forefront to support it. But now, the way United States attacked Iraq with cruise missiles on the plea of its alleged plot has not only been harshly condemned by a major country like China, countries like Germany and France have also refrained from supporting this action. And the United Kingdom, which extended total support to the U.S. attack, is faced with severe domestic criticism by the Labor Party. Expressing its strong reaction to the aggression, Iran has said that if the United States does not shun its behavior, then it will forge an alliance with Iraq against the United States.

The U.S. State Department's argument that there is no similarity between Iraq and Bosnia is a glaring example of the double-standards of U.S. foreign policy. Ignoring these double-standards, the U.S. authorities are frequently using Iraq as a scapegoat and terrorizing the Islamic world. It is again the Muslims who are being killed in Bosnia due to the aggression of Serbs. It is thus fulfilling the objectives of the new world order of the United States. If the United States continue to arrogantly play with fire in the Middle East, it will not only destroy peace in that region, but will also endanger peace throughout the world.

JKLF Chairman Urges Further Muslim Support for Militants

93AS0862E Lahore THE NATION in English
25 Apr 93 p 7

[Article by Amanullah Khan: "The Muslim World: 'What It Can Be, What It Is'"]

[Text] Foreign Ministers of Muslim countries of the world are to meet in Karachi to discuss problems faced by the Muslim world as a whole as also those faced by Muslims in different parts of the world. Keeping in view

the divisions within the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC), lack of enthusiasm among its members and its poor past performance, not much in concrete terms can be expected from the ensuing OIC meeting. Yet, pessimism being unIslamic, let us hope the participants of the conference realise their duties and come out with a programme that could at least wash off the aforementioned general impression about the OIC itself.

Three issues, Bosnia, Palestine and Kashmir, deserve top priority in the ensuing Conference. If the Conference is really interested in following and implementing its own aims and objectives, it will have to come out with bold decisions followed by bold and concrete steps to extend effective and immediate moral, material and diplomatic support to the Bosnian Muslims, Palestinians and Kashmiris or the Conference will prove yet another expensive and showy exercise in futility.

One of the main reasons for the Kashmir issue remaining unsolved and for India treating Kashmiri Muslims as sub-humans and continuing their carnage unabated, is the most unfortunate and total apathy of the Muslim world towards the issue. Except Pakistan which supports Kashmiris mainly due to being a party to the issue and in the hope that Kashmir would ultimately become its part, no government of a Muslim country is supporting Kashmiris' just cause openly or effectively, whereas there are no two opinions that Kashmir issue is a Muslim issue as Muslims form 80 per cent of over 13 million Kashmiris struggling for their inherent, pledged, internationally recognised and fully deserved right of self-determination. In the process they are being butchered by Indian forces of occupation deployed in Kashmir numbering over 500,000.

During the last 4 years Indian forces have killed over 35,000 Kashmiris including men, women and children; burnt thousands of residential houses, shops and grains stores worth billions of dollars; raped and gang-raped thousands of women of 13 to 80 years of age; tortured to death or shot dead thousands of Kashmiri youth in interrogation camps and kept tens of thousands of Kashmiris behind bars without trial. India has escalated her butchery in recent weeks and almost all of its victims are Muslims.

This most unjustified carnage of Muslims by India and her refusal to concede to Kashmiris their pledged and fully deserved right of self-determination made it obligatory for the Muslim world, per principles of Islamic brotherhood, to come to the rescue of their brethren-in-faith. In addition, the U.N. Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Geneva Conventions as also the U.N. General Assembly Resolution 1514 and 2621 (regarding Decolonisation) all of which Muslim countries are signatories to, also made it obligatory for the Muslim world to do all that is possible to put an end to Indian brutalities in Kashmir and to afford to Kashmiris their pledged and fully deserved right of self-determination. Those who want to please both India and Pakistan propose that India and Pakistan should settle Kashmir issue through bilateral talks under Simla Agreement. On the face of it, this suggestion looks a very reasonable one but in fact is

tantamount to fully supporting India against Kashmiris and even against Pakistan. The Simla Agreement does not recognise Kashmiris even as a party to Kashmir issue whereas they are the most affected and most concerned party. There is no mention whatsoever in Simla Agreement of the right of self-determination of Kashmiris which is the very genesis of the issue. Moreover, being in possession of the bulk of Kashmir and stronger diplomatically as well as militarily, India can dictate terms to Pakistan during the proposed bilateral negotiations as she has been doing in the past. As such, suggesting that Kashmir issue be solved through bilateral negotiations between India and Pakistan under Simla Agreement, though apparently looking a reasonable one, in fact means depriving Kashmiris of their fully deserved right of self-determination and subjecting Pakistan to the whims and vagaries of India.

By adhering to principles of Islamic brotherhood, the Muslim world would have become world's strongest single bloc not to be reckoned with. Muslims form about one quarter of the world's population and occupy about one-third of seats at the United Nations. About one-third of the world's wealth belongs to Muslims and they occupy about one-fifth of the dry surface of the globe. Above all, they have a strong single binding force, Islam, whereas the rest of the world is divided into about a dozen religious, social, cultural, political and economic ideologies. If the potential of the Muslim world is properly utilised in the light of the principles of Islam and in the spirit of Islamic brotherhood, the Muslim world can in no time become the world's strongest single diplomatic, political, economic and even military force. But due to absence of real Islamic spirit in the minds and hearts of those at the helm of affairs in Muslim countries, the Muslim world is in a miserable plight. Most of the Muslim countries stand trodden on or dictated to by the Western world, some pitched against each other, their economic and diplomatic potential being used by the rest of the world to its own benefit and above all, they command no say or respect in the comity of nations.

As they say, late is better than never. If the Muslim world wants to achieve what its afore-mentioned potentials can present to it, it can still do so. Let the Karachi Conference take the first real and concrete step towards that end. Under the present circumstances the best way to do so would be to take bold and unanimous decisions on Bosnia, Palestine and Kashmir followed by equally bold and immediate steps to implement them. That is the only way to collective salvation of the Muslim world.

Establishment of Islamic Bloc Advocated

93AS0932A Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 21 May 93 p 4

[Article by Mohammad Mazhur-Ullah Gujar: "An Islamic Bloc Is Needed at This Time."]

[Text] At the present time, the world of Islam is beset with anxiety and turmoil. The atrocities committed against the Muslims in India, Kashmir, Bosnia, Armenia, Palestine, the Philippines, and Burma prove

that all heathens, whether they are Indian Hindus, Serbian and Philippino Christians, Palestinian Jews or Burmese Buddhists, all of them irrespective of religion and regime, are thirsty for the blood of Muslims. To these ferocious beasts, the blood of Muslims is cheaper than water. The gang rapes of Muslim women are now a common occurrence. Those who claim to uphold human rights do no more than talk and profess themselves helpless to stop the atrocities. Instead of taking some action to save the oppressed Muslims, Muslim rulers stay inert, leaning on UN resolutions. We consider Westerners enlightened, but in their hearts they are very bigoted. We have forgotten Richard the Lion hearted and Ferdinand [sic] but the West has not forgotten Salah al Din Ayubi and Nur Al Din Zangi. Even after committing untold atrocities against the Muslims and keeping them under bondage for a century, the vengeance of the crusaders is still not satisfied. Muslim rulers and liberal and generous hearted Muslims acknowledge repeatedly, and prove by their actions that now they are Muslims in name only; nevertheless, the West is still afraid [of Muslims]. That is the reason why Western countries maintain friendly and even brotherly relations with non-Muslim countries such as Israel, India, South Africa, Argentina, and many others which possess nuclear bombs, but, when Pakistan, Iran, Iraq, Libya, and Algeria wish to acquire nuclear technology for peaceful uses, they are threatened with destruction. Iraq and Libya were punished for trying to acquire nuclear capability. Now Iran and Pakistan are being warned to halt their nuclear programs, and they are being threatened that force will be used against them. As the first link in the chain, aid to Pakistan was halted; in the second stage, Pakistan will be designated a terrorist country, isolated and subjected to aggression. Not only Iran and Pakistan, but every Muslim country is open to attack. That is why, if Muslims want to survive, they will have to abandon their apologetic attitude, unite among themselves, and establish an Islamic bloc because no single Islamic country is strong enough to repel American attack by itself.

Muslims should trust in God and not in worldly resources; unfortunately, like the Bani Israel, we have stopped looking to God and look at worldly means instead. Let us now look at the Islamic world and see whether Muslims have the strength to stand on their own feet, for our rulers have been trying to make us believe that the Muslims are the weakest nation on earth and cannot survive without American support.

1) At present, 58 free Islamic countries are UN members (not counting Bosnia Hercegovina and Central Asian countries). An interesting and important fact about these countries is that from Morocco to Indonesia, these Muslim countries are linked to each other and look like a single bloc.

2) Important sea routes for the West and the East, namely, the Suez Canal (Egypt); the Dardenelles (Turkey) and the Straits of Malacca (Malaysia) are all under Muslim control. The greater part of Western

commerce is carried on through these routes. When Gamal Nasser closed the Suez Canal during the war with Israel, Western countries saw their trade being strangled and turned upon Egypt. If Muslims unite, no country will dare to attack them. It is because of dissension among Muslims that their position is weak otherwise if the Suez Canal were closed, Western trade would collapse.

3) Out of a world population of 5 billion, 1 billion 200 million are Muslims; thus, more people follow Islam than any other religion. The West is afraid of our manpower and has made us practice population control while most Western countries plan on increasing their populations. Israel, Italy, Australia and other countries give special allowances to large families. In spite of these efforts, the followers of Islam continue to increase in number and the West experiences manpower shortage; to make up for their shortage, the West depends on the Muslims.

These are the geographical, political, and individual positions of the Muslims. Now let us look at their resources.

Economically as well, the Islamic world enjoys the God given gift of great strength. Seventy per cent of the world's raw material is produced in Islamic countries. God has given certain sources of wealth to the Muslims which make the rest of the world including nuclear powers and super powers dependent on them. For example:

1) Industry all over the world depends on oil; this black gold is used in every kind of machinery. Eighty per cent of the oil needed by the world is produced in Arab countries. Furthermore, large oil reserves have been found in Brunei and Indonesia. The West knew about the importance of oil, but the Muslims realized the importance and power of oil, and, in spite of its technology, the West realized its own helplessness and the importance of Muslims when the martyred Shah Faisal used oil as a weapon. When he stopped the supply of oil to the U.S. and its allies, the entire world was plunged into crisis. U.S. Senator Kennedy had to ride in a donkey-pulled cart to attend a session of the senate. The secretary of the interior at the time, Henry Kissinger, the most intelligent and cunning Jew in the U.S., who is noted for his support of Israel and enmity toward the Muslims, had to apologize to Shah Faisal. A week of oil shortages made the West cry out. If oil is used today as a pressure tool, no one will have the courage to attack a Muslim country.

2) Next to oil, rubber is the most widely used industrial commodity; fortunately, 35 per cent of the world's rubber comes from the Muslim country of Malaysia. Out of the remaining 65 per cent, only 15 per cent is produced in non-Muslim countries. More than 50 per cent of the world's rubber is produced in the Muslim countries of Indonesia, Bangladesh and Africa's Islamic countries.

Sixty per cent of world's tin and 40 per cent of copper comes from Islamic countries. Uranium, which is an important source of nuclear energy, is found in Africa's Islamic countries. There are large deposits of gold in Arab and African Islamic countries.

Ninety three per cent of the total world production of dates, 52 per cent of palm oil and 80 per cent of hemp [for industrial use] come from Islamic countries.

The armed forces of Muslim countries are the largest in the world. The armies of Pakistan, Iran, Turkey, Iraq, and Egypt are considered among the finest in the world. The fact is that if one billion Muslims should practice Islam in the true sense of the word and should become inspired with the spirit of jihad, they would all be mujahedeen fighters. If the Muslims practice Islam, God will grant them victory. Russia's defeat at the hands of the Afghan mujahedeen is a clear proof of the fulfillment of God's promise.

Islamic countries have large quantities of weapons; the Muslim countries of Central Asia, in particular Kazakhstan, possess nuclear weapons. Muslims have never been as rich in resources as they are today. All that is needed is faith in God and the spirit of jihad. As the verse says, if you create the atmosphere of the battle of Badr, rows upon rows of angels will descend to ensure your victory.

The above statistics show that Muslims are the world's richest and most powerful nation, but, when one looks at the general condition of the Muslim world, then except for a few countries most Muslim nations are found begging at the doors of other countries. Those Islamic countries which are rich or which at least appear prosperous, remain backward in regard to defense and economy. For example, although Arab countries have unlimited wealth, they are suffering degradation at the hands of a small country which has no resources.

The reason for this situation is that our rulers surround themselves with luxuries and pay no attention to problems; they look upon the resources given by God as their personal possessions and not as something to be held in trust for Muslims. Because of the wrong policies of these rulers, the wealth of the Muslims is being used by our enemies. The whole world knows that the U.S. is the most important supporter of Israel and gives it the largest military aid. The U.S. has always supported Israel. And though the Arabs know this, their oil wealth goes into American and European banks. The economy of these enemies of Islam is fueled by oil money. Oil money is used to manufacture weapons which are sold to us at high prices; it is loaned out to poor Muslim countries at high interest rates and on stringent terms. If this oil wealth were to be placed in the banks of a poor Muslim country, the first year's profit alone would pay all the debts plus interest of that country. At any rate, this wealth is not safe as can be seen by the fact that the U.S. has frozen Iranian and Libyan assets.

Anyway, what is past is past. Even now if the Muslims want, they can solve their problems. If Muslim rulers have any interest in solving the problems of Muslims, they should unite on a single platform and establish an Islamic bloc. Such an Islamic bloc would serve not only Muslims, but all weak nations (irrespective of their religion) and bring them tidings of peace and friendship. The demise of the Soviet Union has upset the balance of power and left only one superpower in the world. Left without a rival, the U.S. dreams of establishing its hegemony over the world. Only an Islamic bloc can shatter this dream because in area, power, population, and wealth, an Islamic bloc would be larger and stronger than the U.S. and the former Soviet Union. The U.S. knows the strength of Islam and wants to destroy it. It wants to destroy Muslim countries one by one, and, while doing so, it will not differentiate between friend and foe. Everyone can see what happened to Iran and Iraq. Thus, the establishment of an Islamic bloc is necessary for the survival of both the friends and adversaries of the U.S. Pakistan should play a special role in creating an Islamic bloc because Pakistan was founded in the name of Islam. The people of the Islamic world consider Pakistan the fortress of Islam and have many expectations from it. Secondly, after destroying Iraq's military strength, the U.S. is now eyeing Pakistan; that is why the entire Western media is trying its best to defame Pakistan. Pakistan should dispel the notion from its mind that our intellectuals will be able to present arguments which will persuade the U.S. to take our name off the list of terrorists and refrain from taking any action against us. Arguments and proofs are useful when they are presented to those who are ignorant of the facts. Is the U.S. blind? If the U.S. intelligence service can find out about the continuation of Pakistan's nuclear program, it must also know about the atrocities committed by India against the Kashmiris. The fact is that the U.S. knows who is a terrorist and who is not. Based on the facts alone, the U.S. is the biggest terrorist of all. Instead of sending its intellectuals to the U.S., Pakistan should send them to Islamic countries so that they may prepare the ground for the establishment of an Islamic bloc, inform these countries of U.S. intentions, and explain to them that the U.S. wants to punish us not because we are Pakistanis but because we are Muslims. If we are being punished today, it will be their turn tomorrow. Instead of adopting an apologetic manner toward the U.S., a courageous stand should be taken. It is said that for every Pharaoh, a Moses is born. Perhaps God will choose Pakistan to play this role in the present century.

China Pledges Continued Political, Military Support *93AS0869A Karachi DAWN in English 9 May 93 p 1*

[Article: "China To Continue Supporting Pakistan"]

[Text] Beijing, May 8: Mr Liu Hua Qing, member of the seven-person Standing Committee of the Chinese Politburo and first Vice-Chairman of the Chinese Central Military Commission, said here on Saturday that China

would continue to support Pakistan in spite of the changed international situation.

He was talking to Admiral Saeed M. Khan, Chief of the Naval Staff, Pakistan Navy, who is on a goodwill mission at the head of a five-member delegation and called on Liu Hua Qing on Saturday morning.

Mr Liu said that China respected the time-tested friendship between China and Pakistan and though the world situation had changed the brotherly relations between the two would remain forever.

He said with the passage of time the mutually beneficial cooperation between the two countries would further grow.

Mr Liu said he had the reports of Admiral Saeed Khan's talks in Beijing with other leaders like Chinese Defence Minister Gen Chi Hao Tian and the Naval Chief Admiral Chang Lian Zhong and was confident that the current goodwill mission of the Naval Chief would go a long way in promoting friendship between the two countries.

Earlier, during his talks with the Pakistan Naval Chief, Defence Minister Chi Hao Tian said that China wanted to see Pakistan a strong and a prosperous country because that would also be in the interest of peace in the region.

He said the friendship existed between the people, the government and the Armed Forces of the two countries and the current visit of the naval delegation would further cement those relations.

Chief of the General Staff of the peoples Liberation Army, Gen Zhang Wan Nian, expressed similar friendly views during the dinner he hosted in honour of the visitors on Friday. He said China would do everything possible to further promote the cooperation between the two countries.

Admiral Saeed M. Khan was also briefed about the Chinese Navy at the Naval Headquarters during his visit there. He also briefed his Chinese counterpart on the developments in the Pakistani Navy. They also discussed other matters of mutual interest.

Pakistan's Ambassador in China, Mr Khalid Mahmood, was with the Naval Chief during his talks with the Chinese leadership.

Meanwhile, Admiral Saeed Mohammad Khan, while presiding over the prize distribution function of the Pakistan College, here on Saturday said that education of younger generation in Pakistan should be given due priority in the national planning.

He said that the younger generation should put in their best in equipping themselves with education so that they could address the problems of the 21st century with confidence. It was in their own interest as well as the nation's, he added.

He said he was glad to hear about the efforts of the college staff in showing 93 to 100 per cent result and hoped that the effort would be kept up.

Earlier, Ambassador Khalid Mahmood, who is also the chairman of the Board of Governors of the college, said that the school made a humble beginning as a collective diplomatic effort in the capital. He said now the college had over 300 students from many countries.

He said the school was doing a lot by way of generating international interaction in the Chinese capital.

Principal of the college, Sayed Akhtar Hussain, presented the annual report and highlighted the curricular and extra-curricular activities of the college.—APP

Hindu-Zionist Collusion Claimed Threat to National Interests

93AS0894F Lahore *THE PAKISTAN TIMES* in English
21 May 93 p 1

[Article by Hazoor Ahmad Shah: "The Hindu-Zionist Collusion: A Potential Threat to Ummah"]

[Text] A strange coincidence, indeed, that while Pakistan was being assured, for the first time, of the US even-handed approach towards the outstanding Pak-Indian issue, almost simultaneously has come the highly disconcerting news from New Delhi of the shaping up of India-Israel axis to "defeat" what are termed as the Islamabad in Central Asia. The move that became mature during the wide-ranging talks which the visiting Israeli Foreign Minister, Shimon Piers [as printed] had with his Indian counterpart, now formally exposes the underhand dealings which the Bharatiya revivalists and the Zionist Jews were having overtly and covertly over the years against vital Arab and non-Arab Muslim interests.

The Israeli and Indian officials agreed to "promote western-style democracy to foil Islamists" in Central Asia. India is said to be perturbed over Islamabad using its influence in Afghanistan to seek access in Central Asia. With what cheeks, may one ask, India rocket by the rising wave of Hindu revivalism and its secularism being step-by-step decimated can claim to be a champion of western-style democracy for the Central Asian Muslim states. As for Israel the least said the better because of its widely known expansionist designs in the Arab world. Both India and Israel present a ghastly picture of a Frankenstein let loose against the freedom-struggling, yet defenceless and unarmed, peoples of Pakistan and Kashmir.

India established diplomatic ties with Israel in January last year with an eye on sharing the Israeli sophisticated military technology. This, however, Piers has so far refused to oblige. "We don't think we have reached the stage where we are free of the fears and paranoia of the past," said an Israeli aide. Piers told a meeting of the Indian businessmen that Israel would consider transferring "sensitive technology to India when our relations become a little more sensitive."

At the same time, Israel has signed an agreement on mutual consultations in foreign relations, in addition to an economic protocol paving the way for bilateral investments and avoidance of double taxation. What is more significant is Israel has offered to help fight "terrorism and violence" in India. This, indeed, is most intriguing in so far as Israeli agents henceforth will make their presence felt along with the Indian security forces in crushing the Kashmiris' freedom struggle.

Such a nasty development in the Indian-Held Kashmir would certainly not be the liking of the Clinton administration whose sole purpose, as its top-ranking official John Malott has unequivocally stressed, is to defuse the existing high tension between Pakistan and India. The presence of Israeli terrorist squads on the already bleeding soil of Occupied Kashmir will exasperate the situation, and these will be a danger of the Arab and Afghan militants "jumping in the fray" to retaliate against the Israeli terrorist infiltrators.

Luckily for those who love peace and stability in South Asia and there are millions of them of India who sincerely desire a lasting peace with Pakistan Mr. John Malott, the acting head of South Asian Bureau of the US State Department, is present on the Indian scene. As in Pakistan during his preceding visit Malott made no bones about the horrible consequences of continued tension in the region, so while in India he must have pressed on the Indian government leaders the need for initiating a meaningful dialogue with Pakistan. The Indians may have been warned of the dangers inherent in forcing a military solution in Occupied Kashmir, and told that once India took confidence-building measures Pakistan will be ready to reciprocate in the same measure. Mr. Malott may also have offered the US "good office" in helping India and Pakistan defuse the tension-ridden situation and also coming to a negotiation table to solve the Kashmir issue in conjunction with the representatives of Jammu and Kashmir state. Meanwhile, Pakistan's concern over India's decision to bring in additional two divisions of army to the Held Kashmir to escalate repression there must have been conveyed to the Indian government leaders. Mr. Malott, judging from the pro-peace, positive talks he had in Pakistan can be expected to caution the Indian side against escalating the state repression in Held Kashmir.

Speaking at the Indian International Centre, New Delhi, on May 19 Mr. Malott, the most senior Clinton administration functionary to visit the subcontinent, called upon India and Pakistan to end "their cold war and start a process of detente." The United States, he said, was ready to be helpful in this process (of reducing tensions and building confidence) but declared: "The primary role must be yours. We cannot want peace more than you (Indians) do."

Mr. Malott was frank enough to tell the Indians that the Kashmir dispute was a major source of Indo-Pakistan tensions, and that for its part India should take steps to "curb the abuses of its security forces." He also urged

"genuine access" to Kashmir for international human rights groups "to help shed greater light on abuses from both the Indian and Pakistani sides."

Mr. Malott said he told the Pakistanis at the highest government levels that there have been "credible reports" of Pakistan providing "official support" to some of the militants and that the US was keeping this particular development under "active review." He regretted that a military standoff continues along the Line of Control and that the civilians in the Kashmir valley continue to suffer at the hands of both the militants and the Indian security forces. "Both India and Pakistan must act to break the cycle violence," he urged.

This, then, is what the US has clearly demonstrated its new line of even-handed approach to tensions in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. Pakistan, on its part, has assured Malott of its sincere desire to have tension-free, stable relations with India on the basis of justice and equality. At the same time, however, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan has emphasised that the only way peace and stability in the region could be hoped for was for India to shed its posture of intransigence, enter into a meaningful dialogue with Pakistan on the Kashmir dispute and agree to abide by the verdict the people of Jammu and Kashmir freely and fairly give about their future destiny. Once this process of detente starts going, other outstanding issues between the two neighbours would be resolved in the congenial and confidence-building atmosphere. If any assistance from a third party is required to break the ice (of deadlock) Pakistan has made it known it was not averse to such a help. Malott on behalf of the Clinton administration has offered to help India and Pakistan to end their "cold war." The question is: will India reciprocate Pakistan's gesture as it must, and in good time?

As for the India-Israel axis to contain what is perceived as the "threat of Islamabad" in Central Asia, it is for the respective Muslim states to ward off the new challenge. Pakistan on its part is on alert against any aggressive designs the India-Israel axis may have in the disputed Kashmir territory or on Pakistan's strategic defence installations. As a member of the ECO Pakistan like Iran and Turkey is keen on establishing close economic, commercial and cultural relations with the Central Asian co-religionists. As for the defence requirements of the region, in fact of the entire Ummah, there is the Organisation of Islamic Countries (OIC) which of late has realised the gravity of the issues involved and has been trying to put "some teeth" in its bid to defend and protect the global interests of the Muslim Ummah. However, the US as a unipower ought to be forewarned of the high risks of peace and security involved in the aggressive designs of the India-Israel axis, and the paramount need to forestal them in good time.

U.S Media Said Biased, Part of Anti-Pakistan Campaign*93AS0932B Karachi NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 9 Jun 93 p 4*

[Article by Tariq Ismail Sagar: "Pakistan's 'Terrorism' and the U.S. Media."]

[Text] Indian governments have always tried to mislead world opinion about Pakistan, but, over the last 3 years when the freedom movement in occupied Kashmir entered a decisive phase, Indian governments, whether of the Congress party or Janata Dal, have seized every opportunity to spread poisonous propaganda against Pakistan. The treatment that Western press representatives received at the hands of Hindu rioters during the Babari mosque martyrdom [destruction] at least made the Western press realize that all that is said and shown by the Indian propaganda machine is not the truth. Like an elephant which has separate sets of teeth for chewing and display, the Indian government also follows separate standards in what it shows and what it does. Following the Babari mosque incident, the Western press especially the U.S. media, in their coverage of Indian riots as reported by the Indian government, started to call that government the "Hindu government".

This situation (which was quite understandable and which our embassy officials made no effort to exploit) caused the Indian government to seek the help of its old friend Israel. In no time at all, the situation was reversed, and the Western media which used to refer to the Indian government as the Hindu government, started instead to complain about Pakistan's "religious bigotry" and launched a loud campaign to depict Pakistan as a "mullah state." Pakistan was accused of harboring "religious terrorists" from all parts of the world; it was said that they received training in Pakistan and then returned to their countries to spread anarchy. The Indian and Jewish lobbies played a major role in spreading this propaganda and their malice mongering continues, but some of our Muslim brother countries were also active in this matter especially Algeria and Egypt who officially complained to the U. S. that Pakistan trained terrorists who then returned to these countries to endanger national security.

Irrespective of the fact that events have made the U.S. the sole superpower, and to all appearances its foreign influence is on the rise as can be seen in Europe, Japan and now the countries of the Russian commonwealth, internally, the U. S. has not remained immune from the revolutionary changes occurring in other developed and underdeveloped countries. Racial, linguistic and ethnic changes are taking place inside the U.S. which are destabilizing the strong social structure of that country.

It may be surprising to learn that in the first decade of the next century, the number of Black and non-White Americans will exceed that of white Americans and that the largest minority will be of Hispanic descent. Statistics are revealing astounding facts which no one could have foreseen a few years ago.

That is the reason why the American media are in the grip of an unnamed fear and the NEW YORK TIMES proclaims in large letters spread across five columns on its first page that Islam is spreading rapidly in the U. S. and may be the major religion of the country in the next century, and that anxiety is expressed over reports that Black Americans in particular are rapidly embracing Islam.

In fact, in the down-town sections of any large American city especially in the Tri-States, one frequently sees Black Muslim men and women clad in shalwar qamis [Pakistani dress of trousers and frock]. It is surprising and a matter of shame that Pakistani Muslims do not wear their national dress except in private gatherings whereas Black Muslim men do so in public and Black Muslim women not only wear trousers and frocks but cover their heads with a large scarf in the style of a burqa [Pakistani covering for the head and body]. Clearly, these Black Americans were introduced to Islam through the teachings of religious groups and scholars from India and Pakistan, and, hence, they show the influence of Persian rather than Arab culture. These Black Muslims not only wear Pakistani dress but have altered their centuries old eating habits. In the homes of Black Americans and especially in their private and religious gatherings one sees Pakistani dishes served especially "pilau."

Perhaps the Jewish lobby regards this situation as a danger signal. These Black Muslims have great and sincere love for Pakistan especially those who follow the teachings of Pir Sayed Mubarak Ali Shah Gilani and who are called Jamaat Al Fuqara [the party of the poor] by the U. S. press. The best proof of their friendship is the American Muslim Kashmir Friendship Society established by these Muslims. The headquarters of the Society is in New Jersey and the center is run by Black Muslim brother Mansur, Sharifa Begum, Sohaira Begum, Nazima Karima, and other Black Muslim men and women. On several occasions photographs showing the atrocities being committed in occupied Kashmir have been exhibited at the center. Through the American media the center also keeps the American public informed of the barbaric acts of the Indian government, and has carried on a campaign to obtain for the helpless and oppressed Muslims of occupied Kashmir their right to self determination.

The interest shown by Black Muslims especially in the affairs of occupied Kashmir irks the Indian and Jewish lobbies, and, consequently, they have started to connect the propagation of Islam with Pakistani terrorism. A campaign of hatred is carried on against Black Muslims. The explosion in the World Trade Center arranged by Mossad was a lucky circumstance which the Jews exploited fully (there is proof that the Israeli intelligence agency Mossad was implicated in the explosion) because dislike for the Jews is spreading among the American public. The New York riots of February and March in which Black Americans inflicted quite heavy losses on the Jews are proof of this anti-Jewish sentiment. In U. S.

social, political and especially economic circles, complaints against the Jews are being voiced openly, and the American people are beginning to realize that a major portion of their taxes is spent on Jewish luxuries. Upset at this situation, Mossad set off the explosion, then turned the incident around to make the Muslims appear responsible for it, and, thus, created problems for them. What plot was behind the explosion, and how through conspiracy it was pushed on to the Muslims, I shall explain in my next article. At any rate, the Jews exploited this opportunity through the press which they control. They first called it "Islamic terrorism," but, gradually, impelled by great malice, they are trying to connect the incident to Pakistan.

The proofs being offered in this matter are ludicrous; for example, in the second week of May the FBI arrested a Palestinian. The NEW YORK TIMES then ran the headline that the man had been trained in Pakistan, and based its report on the fact that the man had travelled by PIA [Pakistan International Airlines]. Hence, the conclusion was drawn that the man had received training in Pakistan.

Spreading such false rumors in a society as serious and opportunistic [sic] as the American society demonstrates great propaganda skill. However, one should remember that centuries of training and experience lie behind this propaganda ability. Last year, when the Indian government appointed the former governor of East Punjab, Ray [? word not clear] as the ambassador to the U.S., the Sikhs objected strongly, and they took every opportunity to inform American officials of the true character of Ray and the atrocities he had committed against the Sikhs during his term of office.

The Human Rights Commission also took serious note of the matter, but it all came to nothing. A few senators and congressmen issued statements, but faced with a strong Jewish lobby, their voices were lost in the wind.

There are many reasons why Israel and India have been drawing closer over the past 3 or 4 years, but an important reason should not be overlooked. The chief marshal of the Israeli Air Force and the foreign minister of Israel are both Indian Jews who naturally have a soft corner in their hearts for India. Recently India asked Israel's help in dealing with the mujahedeen in occupied Kashmir. The two countries cooperate in various places and on various levels. The Islamic world, on the other hand, is split by differences over various issues and one such issue is Kashmir. The present successful alliance of two demoniacal forces is due largely to dissension among Muslims. Were it not for this dissension, accusations of terrorism would not have been raised against Pakistan nor would this propaganda have been given the form of a movement. The most serious problem facing Pakistan and its friends in the U.S. these days is the strong impression Jewish and Indian propaganda has made on American minds. To dispel this impression, innumerable efforts are under way on every level. A minor incident which would pass unnoticed in any other

country in the world, when it involves Pakistan gives an opportunity to the enemies of this country to raise once again cries of Pakistani terrorism. Examples of such incidents are drug smuggling on a PIA [Pakistan International Airlines] flight or the entry into the U. S. of a passenger carrying forged documents. Such incidents occur on other airlines and attract no notice. It is now rumored in the U. S. that the American government is seriously considering imposing partial or total restrictions on PIA flights.

The question is, when false propaganda has such a great effect, why is the truth not as sensational? In my view, the reason is that we present the true facts before the West in such a confused manner that we appear to be lying.

Paper Hails Pakistan's Move on Bosnia at UN

BK2706113993 Islamabad THE NATION in English
27 Jun 93 p 6

[Editorial: "Lies for an Excuse"]

[Text] Pakistan has taken a good initiative at the UN Security Council [UNSC] in moving a draft resolution that calls for a halt and reversal of the Serbian aggression in Bosnia-Herzegovina, lifting the arms embargo against the Muslims and authorising the UN member states to conduct air strikes against the Serb heavy weapons. Since the UNSC's permanent members from Europe, Britain and France are strongly opposed to doing anything about the situation in Bosnia when the draft resolution is put to vote sometime next week, it is probably destined for defeat. Still having won the support of non-aligned caucus is important for Pakistan as a statement of principles. Another significant development is the US response which is considering to part ways with its European allies and vote for the Pakistani [word indistinct] after, of course, some amendments.

If and when that happens, it would help the US, particularly its waffling Secretary of State Warren Christopher, to restore credibility that he has badly damaged during the last few months trying to justify a policy that has become a reluctant appendage of the European option to stay out. In his attempts to cover up his country's unwillingness to take the lead on behalf of the universally accepted principles of justice, sovereignty and territorial integrity of nations and human rights, Mr. Christopher had started to contradict his own earlier statements and made the outrageous assertion that the Muslims, the Croats and the Serbs are all to blame for atrocities. Had it not been for the need of an expedient argument not to act, Mr. Christopher would not be calling the situation in Bosnia a clear-cut case of Serbian aggression in February and only three months later lumping both the aggressor and the aggressed together. The Secretary of State may need a justification for his country's inability to punish the aggressor, but in doing so he must not mix facts with convenient lies. He should give a serious thought to the letter he has received from his own Principal Deputy

Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, James Bishop, in which Bishop says that his testimony runs counter to the State Department reports to the UN that not only were there relatively fewer cases of Muslim atrocities, but the attacks on civilians by the Muslim forces were not supported by the Muslim-led Bosnian government, unlike the governments of Serbia and Croatia.

Editorial Stresses Maintaining Independence of Policies

BK2806161893 Rawalpindi NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu
27 Jun 93 p 10

[Editorial: "Pakistan-U.S. Relations"]

[Text] Delivering a lecture in Lahore, (Sydney Sober), a former U.S. diplomat and scholar, said that Pakistani leaders are not the puppets of the United States, who dance to its tunes. They make decisions on their own. Citing an example, he said that the agreement entered into by the United States with Pakistan in 1954 was aimed at providing protection to Pakistan against communism. It was not intended to assist Pakistan against India. But the Pakistani leaders began to explain the treaty according to their own interpretation and termed any Indian aggression as an outcome of the [word indistinct] of the communist Soviet Union. The American scholar added that the United States wanted Pakistan to wind up its nuclear program so it can assist Pakistan, but Pakistan continued its nuclear program. Pakistan will not benefit even if the Pressler Amendment is abolished from the U.S. Constitution. The U.S. scholar also cited another example of the Pakistani leadership's independence. That is, despite U.S. aversion, Pakistan developed a very close friendship with Communist China.

Whatever the analysis of the American scholar, the fact is that Pakistan is generally accused of towing the U.S. foreign policy and it has followed U.S. suggestions from CENTO [Central European Treaty Organization] and SEATO [Southeast Asia Treaty Organization] to the freedom struggle in Afghanistan and from the Kuwait dispute to the Somalia operation.

Although Pakistan established a close friendship with China, it only benefited the United States. U.S.-PRC relations were restored as a result of Henry Kissinger's secret mission to China during the Yahya Khan government. It is a clear example of the double-standard of the United States. So far as Pakistan's nuclear program is concerned, Pakistan has definitely not accepted U.S. dictates in this regard until now. But the strongest pressure is now being exerted on Pakistan to refrain from this program. Therefore, as Foreign Secretary Shaharyar Khan said, pressure has been put on Pakistan to the extent that it should halt any advancement in the nuclear sector. The issue is now stalled pending the destruction of the capability achieved in this field. The "lollipop" proposal of (Sydney Sober) is that Pakistan will benefit

from the United States if it abandons the nuclear program. But let Pakistan itself, and not the United States, decide what is good for it and what is not.

The U.S.-influenced world community continues to allow Muslims in Bosnia to be killed and refuses to provide them with arms to protect themselves. If it is contemplating the same thing with regard to Pakistan, then we beg your excuse. Pakistan has adopted its nuclear program as a deterrent without which, Pakistan feels, it is not possible to establish peace in the subcontinent. Pakistan cannot compromise its independence, security, and sovereignty by entrusting itself to the mercy of the United States. The Pakistani nation will get rid of any ruler if he even thinks of such a possibility.

Articles Declare U.S. Intentions Sinister

OIC Considers Declaration

93AS0871A Karachi AMN in Urdu 27 Apr 93 p 8

[News Report: "'The U. S. Should Be Declared Terrorist,' Maulana Shah Ahmad Nurani's Demand."]

[Text] Karachi, 26 April (Staff Reporter); Maulana Shah Ahmad Nurani, leader of Pakistan's Jamiat-I-Ulema, has sent a letter to the secretary general of OIC [Organization of Islamic Conference], Hamid Al Ghabed, and to the leaders of 52 Islamic countries participating in the foreign ministers' conference in Karachi in which he points out that in view of the cruel and barbaric acts taking place in Kashmir, Iraq, Libya, Bosnia and Palestine, the Islamic countries should take a strong stand against the Clinton administration, France, Britain, India and Israel. Shah Ahmad Nurani described in detail the massacre and genocide of Muslims in those countries, the expulsion and expropriation of Muslims, and the assaults on [Muslim] women. He asked the participants in the foreign ministers' conference to declare the U.S. an international hooligan and terrorist.

Conspiracy Against the Islamic World

93AS0871B Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT 7 May 93 p 5
(Supplement)

[Article by Bashir Ahmad Sohawi: "Plots Against the Islamic World; America's New World Order Is the First Documentation of the Establishment of a Zionist Empire."]

[Text] After the second world war, no country is any longer in a position to start another world war and endure the resulting destruction; hence, a new military tactic is being tried out which uses regional wars to pave the way for achieving international aims. Zionism, meanwhile, stays in the background and dreams of gaining its special objectives. Widespread and continuous dissension in Pakistan; accusations being levelled against Pakistan; suspension of aid to the country; lack of political stability in Pakistan; dissension among politicians; dismissal of governments; regional war against

Iraq and false accusations against Iran; the "interest" shown in Siachin by commandos coming for training to Pakistan immediately followed by the arrival of Stephen Solarz; his secret meetings and intrigues; the growing danger to democracy in Pakistan; the deplorable state of law and order and the rising cost of living, behind all these events God knows how many conspiracies are being carried out. Secret hands, masked faces, the bold and insulting deeds of bottle-toting Indian diplomats, one can only watch and cry for the disasters which this home of the Muslims is going to face.

Although the Gulf war was regional, the participation of world and atomic powers gave an international aspect to the results of the war. Was this war the harbinger of unexpected events? Such a question may encompass too many factors. The causes of the war apparently go further back than Israel's raid on Iraq's atomic installations and the eight [many?] sided causes cannot be studied easily. One can, however, say that after Tel Aviv learned of the arrival of German scientists in Iraq, Israeli authorities began to keep a close watch on Iraq's military activities. A special section of Mossad searched for the kind of excuse which would end the danger brewing in the Arabian sands. Ensuing events would show that Israel's plan showed U. S. the way, several years later, to start a war which would not only change the international economic and political scene but spread such a state of helplessness and confusion among the Arabs that they would express their willingness for peace negotiations but Tel Aviv would not agree. This was a new phenomenon produced by "America and Co.'s" success in the Gulf war. It was during the Gulf war that George Bush had Kuwait give Gorbachev a billion dollars in "aid;" soon after, events started to take place in the Soviet Union which would culminate in the end of the Red empire. Perhaps the plan for the Gulf war had many secret components one of which related to the end of communism in Russia. It also appears that shortly before the rise of Lenin in Russia, when the Communist party split into the two Bolshevik and Menshevik factions, Zionism's experts in international "disturbance and subversion" also split into two groups. Both groups planned on the establishment of a world Zionist empire but their means of achieving this end were different. Zionists who supported Lenin followed the ideology of international leadership and the establishment of a world communist government; the second group held the view that they would be able to further the cause of a Zionist world empire by means of superior achievement in science, technology and democracy; they would then establish their hegemony in world politics and achieve their national goal. Nevertheless, the two groups maintained cooperation and mutual practical help. The latter group established Israel; their scientists pushed back U. S. scientists, took over and successfully completed the U. S. program for the conquest of space. They also started to further Washington's unannounced plan of conquest. With the outbreak of the Gulf war, the new world order announced by the U. S. was in reality the first documentation of the launching of the Jewish world empire the

effectiveness and force of which caused the ideological followers of Lenin in Moscow to admit defeat and put an end to communism.

Following the Gulf war, all Jewish scientists and politicians have united; they have cast aside the separate ideologies of Bolshevism and Menshevism carved out by their political predecessors and now dream of making the U. S. a far flung colony of Israel. This, then, is their objective today toward which they are advancing slowly in a pleasant atmosphere of cooperation and love. We may not be alive to see the day [when they gain their objective] but it will come and will give rise to riots between Jews and Americans. We want to warn the people and intellectuals of Pakistan that the pace of implementation of this notorious Jewish plan will quicken when the political conquest of the Islamic world will be accomplished according to the wishes and plans of the Jews. China appears to be part of this plan as well. The Bolshevik elements there will change their attitude and bow before Israel's ideology of hegemony or will be crushed and China's [word incomprehensible] future will be the same as that of the Soviet Union. Based on these conjectures, one may predict that following the Gulf war, a storm is brewing over the oceans and signs of major changes in the world map are appearing on the horizon.

These are the plans under consideration in Tel Aviv by Mossad and other Jewish agencies. In the past, Jewish thinkers and philosophers battled against the Christians; some of their philosophical conflicts are recorded in history. But following the Balfour declaration, the founders of Zionism abandoned these earlier tactics and decided that their real war was with Islam and the world of Islam. Since then, Zionist intellectuals and philosophers have hatched conspiracies of every kind against Islam and the Islamic world. It was not the U. S. but the planners of Zionism who won the Gulf war. They had waited almost 300 centuries to achieve such a major victory; they sacrificed men of promise, many lives, colored the map of their design with their own blood; they forgot their own private interests to pave the way for the establishment of a world Zionist empire. Now their direct confrontation is with the Islamic world and its mature thinkers and planners. This is a major challenge. How will it be met? How can this plot be buried for ever so that it will never see the light of day again? Everything now depends on the attitudes of Iran, Iraq and Pakistan.

Chief Supporter of Terrorists

93AS0871C Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 30 Apr 93 p 4

[Article by Abid Iqbal Malik: "America-The Worst Terrorist of All."]

[Text] The U. S. is the world champion in its hatred of Islam and support of Israel. Relying on the strength of its armed forces, it accuses emerging Muslim forces all over the world of terrorism; with the collusion of the UN, it unites forces inimical to Islam and either attacks Islamic countries or threatens to attack them; the U. S. thus never loses an

opportunity to weaken and overpower Islamic countries. Sometimes, the U. S. entangles the rulers of Islamic countries in dissension among themselves and creates disunity among the Muslims; sometimes, it creates confrontation between two Muslim countries; supports one against the other and uses differences which could have been solved by compromise to drag the two countries to the brink of war. Thus, the lack of foresight on the part of the rulers of Muslim countries aids and abets the U. S. in its anti-Islam policies. A survey of U. S. policies over the past few years shows clearly the dangerous international games that country has played in its enmity toward Islam and its support of Israel. In regard to the Israel-Palestine issue, the U. S. won over certain Arab countries to its side by supplying them with useless and defective weapons on its own terms. Then, to achieve its own ends, it used these countries as tools against Muslim Palestine [sic] and separated them from [other] Arab countries and the social mainstream of Muslim countries. The U. S. designated any organization or country which spoke in favor of the freedom of Palestine as terrorist; it accused Muslim organizations which tried to revive Islam and their related countries of being terrorist; it [took] the differences between Kuwait and Iraq to the UN, gained the support of Western countries and attacked Iraq in conjunction with the armies of 32 countries. The U. S. accuses Sudan and Libya and now Pakistan of being terrorist and has placed Pakistan under close scrutiny. The U. S. role in Vietnam; in Palestinian affairs, U. S. patronage of world terrorist Israel; U. S. support of India against the oppressed Kashmir mujahedeen; the part U. S. played in the 1971 war between India and Pakistan and now, in regard to the atrocities being committed in Bosnia and Azarbaijan, U. S.'s cunning support of the Serbs and Armenians, all these are clear examples of U. S. terrorism. The irony is that although the Muslims are everywhere helpless and oppressed, the U. S. can only see them as terrorists. The rulers of Muslim countries should, in the Islamic foreign ministers' conference to be held in Karachi on 25 to 29 April, place their trust in God and withdraw from the UN (the killing field of the Islamic world); they should point out in the strongest terms not only U. S. enmity but even aggression against Islam and make it plain that the U. S. is the champion when it comes to terrorism. How long will Muslim countries stay with the U. S. and UN and watch while their innocent brothers are slaughtered? Is it justice that while hundreds of thousands of Muslims are being slaughtered in Bosnia, UN authorities say that Bosnian Muslims should not be killed with knives but with bullets to which the Serbian murderer replies that he would not waste an expensive bullet on a Muslim? If Muslim rulers continue to withhold help from their Muslim Kashmiri, Bosnian, Palestinian and Azarbaijani brothers, on the Day of Judgment, the guilt for the massacre of Muslims will lie on the shoulders of these Muslim rulers and the murdered Muslims will fearlessly tell these Muslim rulers, in the words of the couplet: You would not let me have my say when I was alive; now this is the day of reckoning when you will be forced to listen to my complaint.

Regional Affairs

OIC Said Considering Sanctions Against India

93AS0873B Karachi JANG in Urdu 27 Apr 93 p 3

[Editorial: "Proposal To Boycott Trade With India."]

[Text] According to a press report, a study mission appointed by the Organization of Islamic Conference [OIC] has recommended that in order to end Indian terrorism in occupied Kashmir and help the Kashmiris gain the right of self-determination, OIC member nations should stop the import of human resources from India and consider imposing scientific, cultural and trade restrictions against that country. The study commission was established by the Islamic foreign ministers conference and entrusted with the task of visiting occupied Kashmir in order to see at first hand the sufferings of the Kashmiris. But the Indian government has adamantly refused to allow the study commission to visit Kashmir. Indian forces are using every form of cruelty and oppression to crush the freedom movement movement in occupied Kashmir; they are trying to demoralize the Kashmiris by carrying out large scale arrests; shootings without cause; arson; rape and illegal house arrests but they have not succeeded in discouraging the Kashmiris. A heavy responsibility rests on the Muslim nation not to abandon the Kashmiris in their struggle and to take practical measures to put an end to their cruel treatment. Muslim countries constitute a large economic and trade market for India whose economy depends to a great extent on the money sent home by Indian nationals residing in Muslim countries and the sale of Indian products in those countries. If Muslim countries unite and boycott India economically, the latter will be brought to its knees. OIC should persuade Islamic countries to carry out an economic boycott of India.

Commentaries Hail Islamic Conference Support on Kashmir

Foreign Policy Success

93AS0860A Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 30 Apr 93 p 8

[Editorial: "Support on Kashmir"]

[Text] The 21st Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers which has been deliberating on several issues since April 25 at Karachi has approved a resolution on the Jammu and Kashmir [J&K] dispute which endorses the recommendations of the OIC [Organization of Islamic Conference] Secretary-General calling upon member states to sever trade and economic relations with India and stop the import of manpower from there until it ceases its massive human rights violations in Kashmir. The draft resolution also calls upon OIC member states "to take all necessary steps to persuade India to enable the Kashmiris to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination as mandated by the resolutions of the

United Nations." The resolution was approved in a marathon session of the Political Committee of the Conference and its passage at the closing session is now a mere formality.

The brutalities being perpetrated on the people in Indian-Occupied Kashmir and the denial of their basic human rights is now engaging the attention of the entire world. The Muslim Ummah is naturally more concerned about what is happening to the unfortunate people languishing under Indian occupation as they happen to be their brethren in faith. Disgusted with the ruthlessness with which they have been treated over the past 45 years and the repression which they have had to suffer, the Kashmiri people have been forced to launch a struggle to rid themselves of the Indian yoke and exercise the right to decide their future through a fair and free plebiscite as promised to them by the U.N. Security Council through its resolutions which were accepted by India itself. Instead of accepting the justified demand of the Kashmiri people, India has intensified its reign of terror in the area under its occupation in order to hold the territory by force. Large-scale killing of innocent youths, burning of houses and gang rapes have failed to subdue the Kashmiris' urge for freedom. The hordes of Indian troops and para-military forces deployed in Occupied Kashmir have made the lives of the people so miserable that even the local police force stood up in revolt and went on a strike which was broken up after six days. When India does not allow international human rights organisations to visit Occupied Kashmir to see things for themselves, it is evident that all is not well there and it has something to hide. In the resolution now approved by the OIC Foreign Ministers an offer has been made to India to avail itself of the good offices of the Muslim countries by allowing them to send a delegation of experts to find out what is really happening in Occupied Kashmir. That would be in the interest of regional peace and security and is necessary for the promotion of a just and peaceful settlement of the issue. The resolution also regrets New Delhi's negative attitude towards Pakistan's proposal for a bilateral dialogue to remove the basic cause of tension between the two countries. The unanimous approval of the resolution on Kashmir by the OIC Foreign Ministers is a great diplomatic victory for Pakistan and the single biggest achievement of its foreign policy. The wholehearted backing of the Muslim countries to the stand Pakistan has taken on Kashmir should make India resile from its obduracy and see things in their true perspective.

Stand Vindicated

93AS0860B Lahore *THE NATION* in English
30 Apr 93 p 6

[Editorial: "OIC and Kashmir"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] On the basis of the report of the 'fact-finding mission', which was not allowed to visit India by the Indian government but which compiled evidence from other relevant sources, the Secretary-General OIC [Organization of Islamic Conference] recommended that the

Muslim countries should 'exert efforts both bilaterally with India as well as collectively, for putting an end to Indian repression in Kashmir', should review 'economic and trade relations with India and make these conditional on the reversal of its repressive policy and practices in Kashmir', extend 'full political, diplomatic, moral and material support to the Muslim people of Kashmir', and appealed to the world community to intensify efforts to promote a peaceful solution of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute in accordance with the United Nations resolutions. Through sheer coincidence, *TIME* magazine carried the same day a story of Indian atrocities on Kashmir that described how various weapons of terror, including assassinations and burning down of civilian houses, were routinely being used to suppress the freedom-fighter. There is no mention in it of this terror being spread with any sense of guilt on the part of the Indians. Whether that qualifies India as a terrorist state or not, is a matter for the U.S. State Department to decide. It has its own selective ways of doing so. But it does corroborate what the OIC Secretary-General had to say about the plight of the Kashmiris. Whether the Secretary-General's recommendations, when adopted will actually get implemented is, however, another matter. The Malaysian Foreign Minister feels that the ban against India on trade and labour import would not be easy to implement. Instead he has proposed a 'peace mission' to Delhi and Islamabad of those Muslim countries which have friendly ties with both. What influence would such a mission have with India is not difficult to guess. India had earlier snubbed the fact-finding mission of OIC, refused to talk to U.K. and the U.S. on U.N. resolutions, blocked every effort of the West and its human rights organisations to visit Kashmir. In fact the recommendations of the Secretary-General are not really harsh enough to deter India from the path of ethnic cleansing on which it is embarked. Yet the fact that these measures are worth trying, goes without saying. The Malaysian proposal, given the Indian mood, will only invite derision and will be a waste of time and effort.

The acceptance by the OIC states of the fact that Kashmiris have yet to exercise their right of self-determination, thereby rejecting the Indian claim that Kashmir is a part of India, is a major diplomatic victory for Pakistan. The sceptics may call it a paper victory at the moment but it is likely to set into motion an international perception about Kashmir vastly different from the Indian-induced picture of the nature of the problem. It is a sort of moral victory, the long-term consequences of which should not be under-estimated. Pakistan's stand has been vindicated at least in one important international forum.

Malaysian Support

93AS0860C Lahore *THE NATION* in English
28 Apr 93 p 12

[Text] Karachi—Malaysian Foreign Minister, Datuk Abdullah Haji Ahmad Badawi, has suggested that the OIC [Organization of Islamic Conference] member states, friendly with both Pakistan and India, send a

peace mission to both capitals to promote constructive dialogue and sort out the long-awaited Kashmir issue through negotiation.

In an exclusive interview with *THE NATION* at the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers [ICFM] on Tuesday, Badawi floated this idea of a new international diplomatic initiative on Kashmir. Significantly, his suggestion came hours after Azad Kashmir Prime Minister Sardar Abdul Qayyum Khan proposed that the OIC should form a goodwill mission to go to Delhi, instead of the OIC fact-finding mission which had been refused permission to visit Indian-held Kashmir by India.

The Malaysian Foreign Minister, who won many admirers for his articulate address to the ICFM plenary, said that the OIC Secretary-General's recommendation that the Muslim states should reconsider their economic and trade relations, and the import of manpower from India, pending the end of suppression in the Valley, "may not be readily implemented."

OIC Seen Maturing

93AS0860D Lahore *THE NATION* in English
3 May 93 p 7

[Article by Inayatullah: "The Karachi Islamic Conference: An Appreciation"]

[Text] The general image of the OIC [Organization of Islamic Conference] is that of an undynamic and unproductive organisation which periodically brings together potentates and foreign ministers who meet, wax eloquent, shed tears on the plight of the Ummah, pass Resolutions (which are seldom implemented) enjoy banquets and disperse to meet yet again for a repeat performance!

The recent Conference of Islamic Foreign Ministers was altogether a different experience. For senior representatives of 51 Muslim countries, including 43 Foreign Ministers, to spend five days together jointly focusing on major issues concerning the Muslim world was no mean achievement. For them to hammer out consensus resolutions on different questions despite serious differences was a matter of considerable gratification. A distinct impression emerging out of the 21st ICFM [Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers] was the growing realisation amongst the Islamic states that they have to seek to forge a united front for sheer survival in an increasingly hostile world. Our need not be overly optimistic about the shedding of discords and disharmony that prevail between and amongst a large number of these countries. How disagreements are generated and developed amongst them by the Western powers is well known. Quite a few of the Muslim states are tied to American and European apron-strings for economic sustenance and national security. The intrinsic value of the Conference is for these Muslim countries to have an opportunity to talk to each other, appreciate each other's limitations and constraints, and exchange perceptions, fears and aspirations. By collectively addressing

common dilemmas and challenges, they certainly sharpen the identity of the Islamic world and, to some extent, derive strength from each other.

The Karachi Conference was attended, besides foreign ministers and senior representatives of 51 countries, by heads of eleven OIC subsidiary organs, four specialised institutions including the Islamic Development Bank and ISESCO (Islamic Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation); five affiliated institutions including the International Association of Islamic Banks and eight Islamic foundations; and societies including the Muslim World League, World Muslim Congress, World Assembly of Muslim Youth and the League of Islamic Universities. Amongst the observers and invitees were senior officer-holders of the UNO [United Nations Organization], NAM [Nonaligned Movement], the League of Arab States, ECO [Economic Cooperation Organization], UNDP [United Nations Development Program], Gulf Cooperation Council of Arab States, leaders from the Moro National Liberation Front and the Republic of Mozambique. Correspondents of major international news agencies, newspapers and TV networks were present to cover the proceedings.

The OIC charter thus describes the main purposes of the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers.

1. To adopt resolutions on matters of common interest in accordance with the aims and objectives of the Conference set forth in its charter (a major objective being "to promote Islamic solidarity among member states" and "to strengthen the struggle of all Muslim people with a view to safeguarding their dignity, independence and national rights").

2. To consider the means of implementing the general policy of the Conference.

3. To review the progress in the implementation of resolutions adopted at previous sessions.

Let us see how these purposes were addressed in the 21st session of the Conference just concluded at Karachi.

The Kashmir Resolution has "endorsed the recommendations contained in the report of the OIC Secretary-General" which in turn accepts the findings of the Fact-Finding Mission. These findings contain the following specific steps: "Consider reviewing economic and trade relations with India and make these conditional on the reversal of its repressive policy and practices in Kashmir. Consider imposing restrictions on scientific, cultural, manpower and other exchanges with India pending the reversal of India's repression in Kashmir... Extend full political, diplomatic, moral and material support to the Muslim people of Kashmir for the realisation of their right to self-determination." The Conference Communique strongly "condemns the massive violations of human rights of the Kashmir people, calls upon member states to take all necessary steps to persuade India to cease forthwith the massive violation of human rights and to enable them to exercise their

inalienable right of self-determination as mandated by the relevant resolutions of the Security Council, offers its good offices to India to promote a just and peaceful settlement of the Kashmir dispute, authorises the Secretary-General again to send a three-member fact-finding mission to visit Jammu and Kashmir ... and submit a report to the SG, recommends that member states coordinate their positions at the U.N. General Assembly and the Commission on Human Rights." This resolution although short of imposing an economic embargo on India, does provide a viable basis for the Secretary-General to muster support strong enough to make India review and revise its unreasonable stand on Kashmir and the inhuman and uncivilised behaviour of its security forces in the Held Valley and put enough pressure for it to come to the negotiating table. The Communiqué asks the Secretary-General "to follow up the implementation of this resolution and to present his report thereon to the next ICFM." It is here that the OIC's major weakness lies. A fairly forceful decision has been taken but the follow-up mechanism and strategy does not exist. India has already refused to allow the Fact-Finding Mission to enter Kashmir. The members of the Mission in fact have been refused visas even to visit India. The new call for another mission may meet the same fate. The resolution should have provided an inbuilt recourse to certain steps like the consideration of an economic boycott or the threat of a stoppage of the employment of Indian nationals in Islamic (Arab) countries. This raises the whole question of a number of Islamic countries unwilling to be a party to condemn or proceed against India. In his Press conference, the Libyan Foreign Minister, for instance, was reluctant to condemn Indian atrocities in Kashmir. He was generally against repression and violation of human rights in the world at large. Again the Foreign Minister of Brunei made no mention of Kashmir in his detailed statement at the Conference. Indonesia too was cautious in its formal address. To quote:

"Indonesia has followed with profound distress the recurring tensions in South Asia caused by the dispute over Jammu and Kashmir and its attendant civil strife. We fervently hope that this problem between two fraternal countries, India and Pakistan, with which Indonesia has always maintained close bonds of friendship and mutual solidarity will not be allowed to deteriorate any further but will be amicably resolved through dialogue in line with the relevant U.N. resolutions and the Simla Agreement." There was no mention of Indian brutal repression.

The resolution on Bosnia-Herzegovina was unequivocal and hard-hitting. The Conference went out of its way to alter the order of the agenda and approving the resolution passed it on to the Security Council to strengthen Pakistan's hands in time for a new initiative to help the hapless Bosnians. Inter alia the resolution asked for the grant of the right of self-defence in accordance with Article 51 of Chapter VIII of the U.N. Charter, lifting of the arms embargo, authorisation of the Security Council

to use force to place all heavy weapons in the republic under effective international control.

It further called for:

- (a) institution of appropriate measures for reparations;
- (b) freezing of all assets abroad of Serbia-Montenegro;
- (c) severance of all member states' economic and commercial ties with them;
- (d) expulsion of Serbia from the U.N. and all its agencies;
- (e) the Security Council to establish safe areas in addition to those specified in SC Resolution No. 819;
- (f) the despatch of a mission at ministerial level—drawing from the members of the OIC Contact Group—to the capitals of the permanent members of the SC to seek their agreement for the necessary follow-up action;
- (g) the Secretary-General to follow up the implementation of this resolution and report to the Coordination Meeting of the OIC Foreign Ministers in New York.

In addition, at a special pledging session about \$100 million were provided to Bosnia. This is in addition to about \$400 million already provided. Pakistan has given 35 million. As the brave and unruffled Foreign Minister of Bosnia stressed at his Press conference in Karachi, it is not men or volunteers that Bosnia needs and wants, it is arms. And the funds do help them secure arms in spite of restrictions. The Muslim countries certainly could have done much more in terms of their resources and influence but one may not forget that they have yet to forge solidarity and that the levers of international power and control are very much in the hands of the U.S., its European allies and a Serb-friendly Russia. The OIC by its unrelenting pressure at New York and Geneva has certainly contributed a great deal in pushing a reluctant and biased Security Council to move against the perpetrators of "ethnic cleansing" in Bosnia-Herzegovina. A lot more could certainly have been secured by a more determined and concerted effort on the part of the OIC.

The Conference also inter alia dealt with the issues of Palestine, Somalia (Sahil countries), Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, Lebanon, Cyprus, of repression of Muslim minorities in India (India was asked to remove the makeshift temple and restore the Babri Masjid at its original site), the Philippines and other places. Significant decisions were taken by the Economic and Cultural Committees and the work of the various organs and institutions reviewed. Alleviation of poverty and support for weaker Muslim states were made a part of the new OIC agenda.

The question of terrorism in the Muslim states too was discussed and debated at length. In view of the complexities involved, it was decided to set up an inter-government working group and present a report at the next Islamic Conference. A call was further made for the convening of an international conference under the

auspices of the United Nations "to define terrorism and to distinguish it from the struggle of the people for national liberation." Mention needs to be made here of the general appreciation of Pakistan's efforts to effectively deal with the menace of terrorism. Referring to steps to "contain terrorism" the Tunisian Foreign Minister remarked: "I would like to commend the courageous and responsible measures which were recently taken by the sister country of Pakistan and which can be used as a model in dealing with this issue and in containing its effects" (the reference is to the initiatives of the Nawaz Sharif government). A similar statement was made by the Egyptian Foreign Minister.

The Conference urged the member states to be "alive to the necessity of including the questions of women and their welfare in their social programmes" and to accord "particular attention to the issues relating to the role of women in Islamic societies." An omission in the OIC agenda was the absence of its interest and involvement in the NGOs [Nongovernment Organization] and their contribution. It is vital for these instruments of the people's voluntary initiatives and efforts to be recognised adequately as a major activity complementing and supplementing government programmes and projects.

The Malaysian Foreign Minister, Datuk Badawi rightly pinpointed the most glaring weakness of the OIC. The Organisation must be supported by a dynamic secretary-general, a strong, well-organised and well-funded secretariat. A follow-up mechanism for ensuring the implementation of Islamic Conference decisions needs to be built into the system. Merely to wait for the next Conference for a report to be considered in a large meeting with scores of agenda items will not secure the desired results. A well-equipped and well-managed in-built support and follow-up mechanism is indispensable for achieving the envisaged goals. No time should be lost in redressing these organisational weaknesses.

Indian Diplomats Said Engaged in Espionage

93AS0890F Islamabad HURMAT in Urdu 29 Apr 93 p 6

[Article: "Actions of Indian Diplomats"]

[Text] The way Indian diplomats are violating various diplomatic protocols is causing concern in national circles. The presence of an Indian diplomat at Former Federal Minister Sardar Asaf Ahmed Ali's press conference and participation of the Indian ambassador with a bottle of wine in former Senator Jam-i Karam Ali's party proved that Indian diplomats do not care about their position or its demands. They do not even think it necessary to obtain permission from Pakistan's Foreign Ministry to move around in Pakistan. They openly meet various politicians and journalists, invite them to parties and dinners, and attend various parties themselves. In this way, they are interfering in our national affairs. The government should take notice of the violation of diplomatic protocol by these diplomats, and force them to

obey Pakistan's laws and diplomatic protocols strictly if they wish to serve as diplomats in Pakistan.

Military Cooperation Between India, Israel Feared

93AS0892A Karachi JANG in Urdu 18 May 93 p 3

[Editorial: "Close Military Cooperation Between India and Israel."]

[Text] It has been decided to widen the existing military cooperation between Israel and India and, to this end, the Israeli foreign minister is touring India where he will hold important negotiations with Indian prime minister Narasimha Rao. It is no secret that military cooperation exists between India and Israel because both countries are in complete agreement in their enmity toward the Muslims. For a long time, Muslims in India have been placed under great pressure and hardship and attempts are being made to end their religious and cultural identities; in occupied Kashmir, Indian security forces have been indulging in an orgy of plunder and murder in order to crush the Kashmiri movement for self-determination. Israel is following the same policy in its occupied Arab lands. The atrocious methods Israel has been employing to crush the freedom movement of the Palestinians have gained world wide notoriety.

In regard to Pakistan's peaceful nuclear program also, the views and policies of both India and Israel are in complete harmony. One heard reports in the past that Israel, with Indian cooperation, was trying to destroy Pakistan's nuclear installations and that these attempts were foiled by the professional expertise and timely action of Pakistan's armed forces.

Political and military cooperation between India and Israel is more than cooperation between two countries; it is a dangerous conspiracy against the Islamic world, and Islamic countries and OIC [Organization of Islamic Conference] should pay serious attention to this fact. PLO chairman Yasser Arafat should reflect for a moment on this question: How sincerely does India, which Arafat believed to be a democratic country and leading champion of oppressed countries and from which he received awards, just how sincerely does India support the Muslims?

Arabs Said Leaving for Afghanistan To Avoid Arrest

93AS0890A Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 12 May 93 p 9

[Article: "Arab Mujaheddin Seek Asylum in Afghanistan To Avoid Arrest"]

[Text] Peshawar (PBI)—A large number of Arab mujaheddin have started crossing the border to Afghanistan. They want to escape being arrested after our government started a campaign against Arab residents last month. According to a conservative guess, about 312 mujaheddin left Peshawar for Jalalabad capital of Nangarhar Province of Afghanistan. Meanwhile, the government has started an effort to convince the mujaheddin to return to their

country. Only a few of them have expressed a willingness to return to Sudan, where they can live comparably with more comfort. The documents of these Arab nations are still being inspected, and the government has given up its earlier stern attitude and is taking a more lenient approach. The change in this attitude was caused by the strong reaction of religious parties and groups. These parties opposed these actions and efforts to extradite other nationals. They said that these Arab nationals have served us well during the Afghanistan jihad, and that they do not deserve such treatment. Since our government's action against Arab nationals, Jalalabad has become a center of their activities. Two or three Afghan mujaheddin organizations are providing them with various amenities, such as places to live; however, many Arabs, because of their traditional clothes, can still be recognized in upscale residential areas in Peshawar's Muhalla Jamrood Road and University Town.

Kashmir Militant Commander Interviewed

93AS0958A Karachi TAKBEER in Urdu 17 Jun 93 p 19

[Interview with Commander Khalid Sani: "'Our Enemy Has Become Hollow and Pitiful,' How Were the Notorious Black Cat Commandos Killed? The Performance of Non-Kashmiri Mujahedeen Is Magnificent; Commander Khalid Sani, the Commander of the Al Badr Platoon of Occupied Kashmir and the Only Living Recipient of the Hilal-I-Jurat Award Describes Victories."]

[Text] Those who love the military spirit know the meaning of born militant; the commander of the Al Badr platoon of Hezb Al Mujahedeen, Khalid Sani, is just such a mujahed. He has been continuously on the field of battle for the last 4 years and the story of his military successes is filled with accounts of the continuous defeats suffered by the Indian forces; that is why among the 11 individuals awarded the Hilal-I-Jurat [Crescent Medal for Courage] in 1992 for outstanding military deeds, Khalid Sani is the only mujahed who is still alive. The other ten were awarded the medal posthumously. The story of the last 4 years remains untold. In the jihad's center in Srinagar, he is entrusted with heavy responsibilities pertaining to politics and military [tactics?]. Khalid Sani was wounded seriously in a battle with the occupying troops and his head and legs bear the scars of bullets which he regards his true medals. The Commander belongs to the village of Nihama in Zila Palwama. He graduated from Amar Singh College in Srinagar. His family had ties with Mirza Afzal Beg's party, Mahaz-I-Rai Shumari, which in those days was called the organization of the Pakistanis. But when the Mahaz merged with the National Conference, Khaled Sani's family was among the many who abandoned support for Mirza Afzal Beg. In 198, Khalid Sani was travelling on a well-lighted and busy highway in Srinagar, and, when the time came for prayers, he stopped at the nearest mosque. The Imam was giving an unusual sermon; he was urging Kashmiri Muslims to undertake a jihad against the demon Taghoot [India?] and was calling India the Pharaoh and Nimrod of the present time. From

that day on, Commander Khalid Sani became a follower of that Imam. Changing conditions made the Imam the leader of militancy and Khalid his follower. The former Imam was Sayed Salah Al Din, the supreme commander of Hezb Al Mujahedeen, who at that time was a prominent statesman and was also called Sayed Yousuf Shah. Commander Khaled Sani was regarded as the right hand man of the famous guerrilla leader, Abdulla Bangru the martyr. When Khaled Sani was asked for an interview by TAKBEER, he recited a few lines of verse by Maulana Rumi [the verses are actually from the Persian poet Saadi's GULISTAN] to the effect that a man found some mud at his feet, another man found the mud fragrant and asked the mud the reason for the fragrance. The mud replied that the fragrance was not due to any merit on its part, a plant with a fragrant flower grew from the dirt and the fragrance of the flower made the surrounding dirt fragrant as well. Commander Khaled Sani said that he had nothing to tell about himself, whatever had happened should be considered the miracles brought about by Tahrik-I-Islami. The following is the text of our interview with Commander Khaled Sani:

[Correspondent] Why did you choose the code name of Khaled Sani for yourself?

[Sani] In 1989, my commander Abdulla Bangru, martyr, learned that the notorious DSP [Deputy Superintendent of Police] D.N. Chaudhry was in our area. Chaudhry was a barbaric man and many stories circulated of his inhuman treatment of mujahedeen. Abdulla Bangru summoned an emergency meeting of the organization and announced that any man who captured D.N. Chaudhry alive would receive the title of Khalid Al Islam Sani [actual meaning of Khaled is immortal; it is also the name of a famous Arab warrior; Khaled Sani means a second Khaled]. Our intelligence sources informed us that Chaudhry carried in his pocket an American made six chamber revolver with six bullets. I volunteered for the task of capturing him. [As a cover], Chaudhry pretended to be the manager of a factory in Khanmoh. I took my revolver and headed for the factory. I wrote out an application for a job; when the security guard stopped me, I showed him the application and entered the building. I ordered Chaudhry to raise his hands and took the revolver and six bullets out of his pocket. I then pushed him out of the window, put him in a taxi and brought him before my courageous commander, Abdulla Bangru. He gave me the title of Khalid Sani. This name is now my identification and my treasure.

[Correspondent] What wounds have you inflicted on the enemy during the 4 years of jihad?

[Sani] Over the past 4 years, I have been the Srinagar area commander, section commander, platoon commander and flying squadron commander. We undertook several important missions. In Hyderpura in Srinagar, while I was patrolling the area with 6 companions, an

Indian officer passed us in his bullet proof car. I threw an R-G 2 [grenade?] but it did not hit the target; we then stood on the road and blasted the Indian officer with our kalashnikovs. His wrecked car remained there for several weeks as a lesson to others. At about the same time, an organizational meeting of Hezb Al Mujahedeen was being held in village Wadoun of Zila Badgam. The leader of the organization, Shams Al Haq, and several other prominent commanders were taking part in the meeting. During an intermission, we decided to visit a nearby village. Indian troops were waiting in ambush on the road but we spotted them from afar. The mujahedeen opened fire which was answered by the Indian troops. For three hours we exchanged fire. We lost two capable commanders, Bilal Qadri, and Irfan, but we sent 20 Indian soldiers to hell. I was shot in the hand.

I once captured an Indian soldier in the Haidarpura area. The man had come to shop at the market and was unarmed. We obtained important secret information from him, then we shaved his head and moustache and freed him. We told him that since he was unarmed, he was being set free because our religion did not allow us to lift our hand in violence against the weak. If we had wanted, we could have exchanged him for several of our commanders, but morality is one of the principles of Hezb Al Mujahedeen. Last year, in the Chadora area, two military cars were frequently observed at a local shop making purchases of almonds and other things. This spread anger among the mujahedeen who told the shopkeeper that they intended to shoot his "customers;" hence, he should either stop selling almonds or prevent them from coming to his shop otherwise he was in danger of being killed himself. But the shop keeper paid no attention. One day, we targeted the military vehicles which so terrified the soldiers that they never set foot in that area again. In 1990, the Al-Badr platoon ambushed and attacked a military convoy in the Nagam area, killing 26 [Indian] soldiers including three officers of high rank. We also obtained a large number of weapons. Military vehicles were attacked in Badshahi Bagh and two vehicles were totally destroyed. With the help of my friends, I pulled a very dangerous enemy informant out of a military bunker; he had a pistol and a kalashnikov which we took away from him. He had hidden these weapons in an old grave. The informant was hanged.

In the current year, at the end of a meeting of Hezb Al Mujahedeen, supreme commander Sayed Salahuddin ordered the commanders to give speeches in various mosques in order to explain to the people the exigencies of the jihad movement and the activities of the Hezb. I was ordered to go to the Dangarpura Jame mosque. After prayers, I started to speak; there were 2 guards with me. Suddenly someone cried out that the army was coming. The cars belonged to the notorious Black Cat commandos. Only we three were armed. We started firing so as to give them no time to organize. We killed 6 commandos on the spot, two others ran into the nearest shop. I was carrying grenades. At a distance of 10 feet, I asked the commandos to release the shop-keeper,

Mohammad Ramzan, who was screaming as the soldiers tortured him. After a few minutes, the screams ceased and we knew then that the shop-keeper had been martyred. There was no longer any need to hold back which we had done in order to save the shop-keeper's life. I tossed a grenade but they tossed it back before it exploded; however, the grenade did no damage. We exchanged fire until evening. I took aim at a hole and killed a soldier while another fired at me. I took two bullets in the head and ear (he showed the scars). Nevertheless, I was able to let off two bursts of fire and killed the soldier. The people then cut off the heads of the soldiers with the martyred butcher Mohammad Ramzan's large knife.

The names of the 2 commandos were S. Patel and B. N. Chadwal.

[Correspondent] Just now during our off the record talk, you mentioned non-Kashmiri mujahedeen; how many are there and how good is their performance?

[Sani] I cannot tell you the number, only the supreme commander can do that, but their performance is magnificent. Fifty of our supreme commander's guards are non-Kashmiri Muslims. Similarly, Muslim mujahedeen accompany the divisional commander Maqbool Illahi.

[Correspondent] What do we hear about Indian weapons being found in Mujahedeen dwellings?

[Sani] These are the weapons seized from the occupying army. Those soldiers need money, so frequently they deliver the needed material to a designated place and receive payment for it. Nowadays we can have captured mujahedeen freed by paying sums of money. Our enemy has become hollow and its internal situation is pitiful.

[Correspondent] What are the facts regarding Operation Tigers launched by the Indian army with the joint cooperation of RAA and Mossad?

[Sani] This was a plan to kill the entire population of Kashmiri young men. During that time, four of our high commanders were martyred in torture cells. Hezb Al Mujahedeen launched operation anti-tigers in reply during which we captured alive 3 Indian soldiers and interrogated them. I questioned a soldier named Autar Singh, and made a video cassette of the questioning. The soldier said that they were told that jailing the mujahedeen would not solve the problem. The mujahedeen were organized and found fresh inspiration; hence, mujahedeen who were captured should be martyred. In this way, all Kashmiri youth would be killed and the pay of the Indian soldiers would be raised. An Indian officer even said threateningly that they [Kashmiris?] should go to Punjab and see how young girls could not find husbands because they [Indian troops] had killed off all the young men and that the same fate would befall them [the Kashmiris?].

Agreement With Iranian Foundation for Joint Studies
BK1406100593 Islamabad THE NATION in English
14 Jun 93 p 3

[Text] Islamabad (APP)—Foundation for Research on National Development and Security (FRIENDS) and Iranian Institute for Political and International Studies (IPIS) have mutually agreed to cooperate for promotion of regional peace development and cooperation.

According to a press release of the Iranian Deputy Foreign-Minister for Training and Research, Mr Abbas Maleki and General (Retd) Mirza Aslam Beg, Chairman of FRIENDS, agreed on the cooperation between the two bodies. The FRIENDS and IPIS agreed to promote regional cooperation, by undertaking studies on: The security of the Persian Gulf.

Regional Cooperation with Central Asian states.

Modalities for consolidation of cooperation between Iran, Pakistan and Afghanistan.

It was also agreed that they will exchange their publications, reports and journals on a regular basis.

In order to undertake specific common research projects, they will jointly prepare the parameters of the studies and modalities for their completion.

Internal Affairs

Political Machinations Seen Leading Toward Disaster
93AS0930A Karachi AKHBAR-E-JEHAN in Urdu
7 Jun 93 p 7

[Editorial: "Where Are We Headed?"]

[Text] Pakistan Supreme Court's epoch-making decision ordering the restoration of the national assembly is being praised not only in all parts of the country but in other countries as well because it establishes the supremacy of the constitution and the law and the triumph of justice. The decision paves the way for the strengthening of democracy and democratic values in the country and it nullifies the 8th amendment to the constitution which hung like the sword of Damocles over the head of every prime minister. Henceforth, any president who wishes to use this ignoble and democracy-killing weapon will think long and hard before doing so, and he will not be able to ignore the Supreme Court's honorable decision which will become part of our parliamentary history. On the other hand, politicians in office have been taught the lesson that, in order to administer affairs efficiently in a democracy, the cooperation of the opposition is necessary. All politicians profess over and over again that they believe this to be true but the belief is never put into practice which is the reason why our domestic policy has

always been the victim of confrontations and tugs of war. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif was wise not to delay seeking a vote of confidence in the National Assembly since, by doing so, he proved that he retained political backing in the assembly. The prime minister is also to be commended for his statement regarding his new objectives and his promise to seek a compromise with the opposition. In his speech over the radio and television, Sharif said that there were no obstacles in the way of establishing good relations with the opposition; that his government would try to establish a clean democratic society in which vengeance, mud slinging, and character assassination would be replaced with discussions on principles, ideals, and aspirations, and new ways would be sought to bring about progress in the country. On the other side, Benazir Bhutto, the leader of the opposition in the national assembly, said that the door to negotiation was open and that the opposition held no personal animosity toward anyone. The expression of such sentiments by the government and opposition is encouraging; hence, after the Supreme Court decision, when the prime minister obtained a vote of confidence in the National Assembly, the people believed that the political crisis in the country would be ended and the economic loss sustained by the country during the 5 weeks of transition would be remedied. Unfortunately, there is no sign that these hopes will be realized, on the contrary, the political crisis is becoming more intense and the factors behind it are heading in new directions. One hears daily reports of new political wheeling dealings and the assemblies have become mere playthings. First, an overnight drama was staged in the Punjab Assembly; one chief minister was removed and another placed in office; then the assembly itself was dissolved and the same person was made the caretaker prime minister. It was later reported that the Lahore High Court had agreed to hear the case against the dissolution of the assembly and had ordered that the status quo be maintained. Meanwhile, the Frontier Assembly was dissolved on 30 May and the caretaker chief minister's cabinet took the oath of office. Only a day earlier, a number of new ministers had been sworn in; now they have departed after a day in office. In Baluchistan, a new chief minister has been placed in office, and, in Sindh province, a vote of no confidence in the chief minister has been put before the assembly and will come up for discussion on 6 June. A brief survey of the country's political situation will show that instead of ending, the political crisis has intensified and is spreading in several directions simultaneously. The direct result of this situation has been to spread greater anxiety among the people who are themselves caught up in economic and social problems. The people cannot understand why the leaders who are supposed to seek solutions to problems are instead fighting among themselves, and why the assemblies, which were established to safeguard democracy and the people, have become mere sandcastles. Whom should the people select to represent them and from whom should they seek justice?

New Islamic Political Alliance Formed

93AS0894G Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English
15 May 93 p 3

[Text] Lahore, May 14—Terming both the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] and Pakistan Muslim League as insincere to the cause of Islam, leading ulema have announced to formulate an alliance of religious parties, naming it a real Islamic Ittehad.

The announcement was made through a resolution adopted during a meeting of the ulema held at Madrissa Hanfia, Bahawalpur House here today. Maulana Mohammad Abdul Aleem Qasmi presided. According to the resolution, the nation had already tried both the biggest political groups with regard to the implementation of Islamic order.

It had dawned upon the nation that none of these groups was sincere with Islam. Leader of a group declares Islam as a barbaric religion while the leader of the other group had declared that he was not a fundamentalist. In fact, both these groups were watching their own interests.

In view of the situation, the Ulema has decided to form such an alliance that would be of purely Islamic in nature. It would be included by people with deep love for Islam. It was announced that today's meeting was the first step towards the formulation of the alliance that would be finalised during the country-wide ulema convention to be held on May 17 next. A committee was also formed under the chairmanship of President Jamiat Ittehad-ul-Ulema Pakistan, Sheikhul Hadith Maulana Abdul Malik to make contacts with ulema of all schools of thought.

Speaking during the meeting Mufti Ghulam Sarwar Qadri said that the people had already tried a lady as head of the state and those who had assumed power under the oath of implementing Islam. While one of them made fun of the Islamic punishments, the other challenged the Federal Shariat Court's decision on Ribah. The latter had also declared that he was not a fundamentalist. Under these circumstances the time had come to provide a real Islamic leadership to the people.

Sheikhul Hadith Maulana Abdul Malik said ulema should get together to counter the anti-Islam forces. Maulana Kurshid Ahmad Ghanghovi urged the need for calling a convention that could help in introducing real Islamic order in the country.

Others who spoke on the occasion included Maulana Mohammad Naeemullah Qureshi, Maulana Abu Albadr Mufti Shamus-uz-Zaman Qadri, Maulana Abdur Rehman Madni, Maulana Fateh Mohammad, Maulana Mohammad Suleiman Ensari, Hafiz Salahuddin Yousaf and Maulana Mohammad Ejaz Baloch.

Drug Mafia Said Behind Sharif Dismissal

93AS0857A Karachi AMN in Urdu 19 Apr 93 p 3

[Commentary by Juma Khan: "The Drug Mafia's Hand in Campaign Against Nawaz Sharif; Does President Ghulam Ishaq Want To Become Another Ghulam Mohammad or Iskander Mirza? The President and the Prime Minister Were Friends of Long Standing and a Political Compromise Should Have Been Possible."]

[Text] The background of many political events is not covered in the press or other sources and ordinary people remain ignorant of many facts; but those who watch the political chess game closely remain aware of the moves of the major and minor chess pieces and can tell what the next move will be.

As a government bureaucrat, Ghulam Ishaq Khan reached the highest public post of secretary general; then he became a non-elected federal minister. General Zia consulted with the two politicians he approved of, Mohammad Khan Junejo and Nawaz Sharif, and appointed Ghulam Ishaq to the Senate; he later became chairman of the Senate and when General Zia was killed in a plane accident, Ghulam Ishaq, in accordance with the constitution, became the acting president. As a result of the elections which followed, Benazir Bhutto, co-chairperson of the People's Party, became prime minister. A new president also had to be elected and at that time, Nawaz Sharif did not have majority support in the national assembly though he did have the overwhelming support of the Punjab assembly. Elder statesman. Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, was a candidate for the presidency; he had worked closely with Benazir in MRD [Movement for the Restoration of Democracy] and is now the leader of NDA [National Democratic Alliance]. Ghulam Ishaq was also a candidate for the presidency. Acting on the advice of his friends, Nawaz Sharif unexpectedly announced his support for Ghulam Ishaq, thereby placing Benazir in a difficult position. If she opposed the acting president and he won, it would become difficult to work with him. At that time, there were political differences between Benazir and Nasrullah Khan. Benazir bowed to political expediency and announced her support for Ghulam Ishaq. Thus, Nasrullah lost and Ghulam Ishaq became the president. As a matter of principle, he should have been grateful to Benazir; but he regarded the martyred Bhutto, his political family and the People's Party with disfavor whereas he had a long standing friendship with Nawaz Sharif and knew that Zia had approved of Sharif. Consequently, Ghulam Ishaq was unable to remain unbiased in his presidential duties and leaned toward IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad]. Political circles knew well that when the leader of the opposition party at that time, Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, brought a motion of no confidence against Benazir Bhutto, president Ghulam Ishaq guided him in the plan. When the motion failed, a conspiracy [between the president and] IJI brought about the dismissal of Benazir from office. Jatoi was made transitional premier because he claimed that he would be able

to prevent the People's Party from gaining office. The results of the elections held under Jatoi and his political plotting with president Ghulam Ishaq emerged after the 1990 elections when the People's Party failed to gain office on the federal level or in any of the provinces. Islami Jamhoori Ittehad assumed the reins of office. According to political circles, following the elections, Mohammad Khan Junejo, Jatoi and Nawaz Sharif were in the running for the premiership but Ghulam Ishaq chose Nawaz Sharif because the majority of the delegates elected were from Punjab and supported Nawaz Sharif. Moreover, Altaf Hussain, the leader of the Muhajir Qaumi Movement [MQM], had proclaimed loudly that since Punjab had won the majority of the delegates, there was no reason why the prime minister should not also be from Punjab.

These facts show that president Ghulam Ishaq and Nawaz Sharif were friends of long standing; and as a result of the pleasant relations between these two leaders, the government ran smoothly for two years. The opposition party and disgruntled politicians failed to create difficulties for the government; their every political move was foiled and at no time did Nawaz Sharif's government show any signs of weakness.

A few months ago, differences started to surface between the prime minister and the president; earlier, certain influential supporters had left the prime minister's side because of political differences. The common impression is that president Ghulam Ishaq, whose term ends at the end of the year, wanted to be presidential candidate but Nawaz Sharif hesitated to support him. Differences thus arose between the two men; the prime minister wanted to have the 8th amendment to the constitution abrogated under which the president has the power to dismiss the government and the assemblies. But the president was in favor of retaining the amendment. Another major difference between the two arose over the chairmanship of the Muslim League. President Ghulam Ishaq did not want Nawaz Sharif to become the chairman of the Muslim League whereas a large majority of the League members were in favor of choosing Nawaz Sharif as the chairman in order to make the League a popular party.

These were the three major differences between the two men; subsequent events show that president Ghulam Ishaq was annoyed with those ministers and high officials who had played prominent parts in saving Nawaz Sharif from critical situations, creating political stability, promoting his political fame and successes on the economic front. The president wanted all these individuals dismissed and their places as ministers and high officials taken by those favored and selected by the president himself. The president forgot that Pakistan's system is parliamentary not presidential; that Ghulam Ishaq is the leader of the country, not the leader of the government. If in the next few days the president should take any major step toward changing the leader of the government, it will easily show that he wants to become another Ghulam Mohammad, an Iskander Mirza or a chief martial law administrator in civilian clothes.

The president and the prime minister were friends for a long time and have very influential mutual friends. The differences between Ghulam Ishaq and Nawaz Sharif were political in nature and could have been settled through face to face talks. Their mutual friends also could have resolved these differences. However, suspicion is now turning to certainty that a secret hand was not only fanning the differences but also wanted to create political instability and safeguard its own nefarious interests by having Sharif removed from office. This secret hand belongs to the drug Mafia.

Great concern is being expressed throughout the world over the production, trade, smuggling and use of narcotics which is resulting in the deaths of thousands. Drug smugglers are put to death in Saudi Arabia, Iran, Malaysia and some other countries. Public campaigns are being carried out in Pakistan against the sale of drugs and friendly countries are putting pressure on Pakistan to purge drugs from the country. Hence, Sharif had announced last year that 1993 would be the year for putting an end to narcotics and had advocated the passage of a new law making it possible to impose the death penalty on drug smugglers and allow the confiscation of their property. The prime minister's decisions created anxiety among drug traders. A recent U. S. report has pointed out that some members of parliament are drug smugglers and are so powerful that they can change government policies and influence the courts as well. In view of this report, it is now believed that the political storm created against Nawaz Sharif was engineered in part by the drug Mafia which wanted to remove Sharif from office and create political instability so that no future government would dare to pass any stringent laws against the drug dealers.

It would have been possible to negotiate a dignified compromise between the president and the prime minister on the basis of mutual respect and non-interference in each others' affairs; they could have thus maintained a good working relationship. Such an agreement was not impossible in view of the long standing good relations between the two men. But the time for compromise is now past and the time will soon come when not only will the demand for the abrogation of the 8th amendment be withdrawn but a changing of the entire constitution will be demanded because the 8th amendment has upset the balance between the powers of the president and the prime minister and has made political stability impossible. The governments of two elected prime ministers have already fallen victim to this amendment.

Bhutto Role in Government Dismissal Criticized *93AS0857B Karachi AMN in Urdu 20 Apr 93 p 3*

[Editorial: "Bhutto's Role in the Dissolution of the National Assembly."]

[Text] On Sunday night, president Ishaq Khan announced in a press conference that the national assembly had been dissolved and prime minister Nawaz

Sharif summarily dismissed. Only a day earlier, Nawaz Sharif, speaking as the prime minister, had warned the nation over radio and television that political conspiracies were being hatched against his government in the president's office. On Sunday night, it was reported that the speaker of the national assembly, Gohar Ayub, had used his powers as speaker to summon a meeting of the national assembly on the evening of Monday, 19 April. The same day, an important meeting of the federal cabinet was held in which complete confidence was expressed in Nawaz Sharif and his policies. It was expected that the prime minister would ask for a vote of confidence from the national assembly meeting on 19 April and he would show to the nation once again that he had the support of the majority in the national assembly. In his broadcast speech, Sharif said that he retained the confidence of a large majority in the parliament. At any rate, it was true that politicians within the assembly who supported president Ghulam Ishaq considered it impossible to bring about any change from within the assembly; they had failed in their attempts to muster the required number of votes for a no confidence resolution. Under these circumstances, if the president wished to keep himself in power and remove the prime minister from office, he had no recourse except to dismiss the government and the national assembly. This was the option the president chose but his action will be challenged in the courts which will decide whether the president acted within his constitutional rights or not.

No one can deny the fact that some of the politicians around president Ghulam Ishaq were opposed to the dissolving of the assembly; one of these was resigning federal minister Hamid Nasir Chatha. Many other politicians who favor democracy strongly opposed the dissolving of the assembly including the speaker of the assembly, Gohar Ayub, who went so far as to say that he would challenge the president in the courts if he dissolved the assembly. If the speaker or Nawaz Sharif take their case to the courts, it is possible that the courts might find the president legally justified in the action that he took; the courts could also order a temporary restoration of the government and the assemblies and even if the president's action was judged to have been illegal, the courts could decide that since new elections were to be held, there was no need any longer for the restoring to office of the dismissed government and the assemblies.

In 1985, General Zia dismissed the elected government of Mohammad Khan Junejo; in 1990, president Ghulam Ishaq dismissed the elected government of Benazir Bhutto and now, in 1993, the elected government of Nawaz Sharif has been removed from office. Thus, elected governments have fallen victim to a hat trick.

The history of politics will place the largest blame for the demise of the Sharif government on Benazir, the leader of the opposition who, on the day that the assemblies were to be dissolved, unexpectedly met president Ghulam Ishaq and offered him the resignation of all the opposition members of the assembly. If she had not done

so, the president and his supporting politicians would not have been able to dismiss the government and the assemblies; as the parliamentary deputy leader of the People's Party, Sardar Farooq Laghari, has pointed out, the president had the resignations of only 109 national assembly members of which 45 belonged to PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] members. If the latter had not submitted their resignations, the president's supporters in the national assembly would have numbered only 64, too few to push through a vote of no confidence in the government. Moreover, the resignation of 64 members was not sufficient reason to dismiss the government and assembly.

If in fact, by Sunday, the president had in his possession the resignations of 109 members of the national assembly, it would have been easy for these 109 individuals to use a no confidence vote in the Monday session of the national assembly and remove Nawaz Sharif from office. They could have then appointed a new leader and formed a government which would have stayed in office until 1995, the year when the constitutional term of the national assembly would have ended. Why these members agreed to the formation of a 3 month provisional government is a basic question which those who advocate the assassination of democratically elected institutions are unable to answer.

Bhutto Agreement With President Termed 'Biggest Mistake'

93AS0862B Karachi HERALD in English 15 May 93
pp 24-25

[Article by Zaffar Abbas: "Dangerous Liaison?"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] She came, she saw, and she strolled back into power. This is just one way to describe Benazir Bhutto's triumphant return home after an unusually long and mysterious absence from the scene during the country's worst political crisis in recent years.

Soon after her arrival in Pakistan, Benazir jumped right back into the fray. She held parleys with partymen at Bilawal House and at the PPP's [Pakistan People's Party] secretariat in Islamabad, called on Ghulam Ishaq Khan with husband Asif Zardari in tow, and handed the president the resignations of all the PPP members of parliament. All in all, with this flurry of activity, Benazir effectively hammered the last nail into Nawar Sharif's coffin and sealed the fate of the National Assembly.

The dissolution of parliament and holding of fresh elections had been the PPP's demand from day one. As the leading opposition party, it had always considered the last assembly to be bogus, the product of massively rigged elections, and had repeatedly called for its dissolution. Soon, others began lending their voices to the growing chorus of dissent. There were defections from the ruling alliance, and additional groups from outside parliament also jumped on to the bandwagon. Finally, when the president realised that his own job was very

much at stake, he turned for help to Benazir Bhutto, the one person he has always trusted least and hated the most.

For the president, this may not have been an easy decision to take but it was not smooth sailing for Benazir either. Cracks had already developed in her party on this account, with a very articulate lobby led by one of her party's central figures, Iftikhar Gilani, openly opposing any sort of deal with the president. The latter, in fact, was wholly in favour of supporting Nawaz Sharif's government in a collective attempt to get rid of the Eighth Amendment, and possibly the president as well for good measure.

Gilani had also been instrumental in bringing Benazir closer to the government by making her accept the largely ceremonial post of head of the parliament's foreign relations committee. Later, when Benazir had been monitoring events from London, Gilani and noted Pakhtun nationalist Mehmood Khan Achakzai had specially flown to England with Nawaz Sharif's offer of a package deal in return for a collective action against the Eighth Amendment.

Officially, no mention has ever been made of this offer, but it is widely believed that the deal had not only included dropping all pending cases against Asif Zardari and others, but also a possible share in the government as well as early elections in 1994. The PPP, in turn, was to support the government in further amending the constitution to remove the sword of Democles which hangs over Pakistan's elected assemblies.

Iftikhar Gilani, however, was not the only one who had gone to London totting a package deal. The PPP's hawks, for whom nothing was acceptable short of the dissolution of the assemblies, apparently had an even more attractive package to offer on behalf of the president and the Junejo faction of the Muslim League. Advocates of this latter option had already talked things out with Ishaq Khan, and people like Faisal Saleh Hayat and Makhdoom Amin Fahim later went to London to convince the party co-chairperson that the president's offer should be accepted.

Unlike past crises in Pakistan's political history, when so-called London Plans were put together to decide the future of the political system, this time round the 'plan' was being hammered out in Islamabad—and subsequently dispatched to London for the final approval of a person who was until recently the sworn foe of both Ishaq Khan and Nawaz Sharif. By a strange twist of fate, Benazir was now being wooed by both camps in a desperate bid to capture what had by then become the deciding vote in the ongoing power struggle in Islamabad.

Eventually, Benazir decided to pay back Nawaz Sharif in the same coin—getting his government removed by using more or less the same tactics he had employed against her in 1990. At the same time, it was also sweet revenge for Ms Bhutto as far as Ishaq Khan was concerned. The president was not only asked to meet her

husband, Asif Zardari—the man he had repeatedly accused of being the principal culprit in the allegedly corrupt Benazir government—but was also pressured into nominating him as a minister in the caretaker government. The supreme irony came later, when Ishaq Khan himself administered the oath of office to Asif Ali Zardari.

Sources close to Benazir Bhutto say that opting to side with the president was a difficult decision for the former leader of the opposition, but this was what the overwhelming majority of her top leaders, particularly those from the Punjab, had been wanting for some time now. That she herself wanted to settle personal scores with Nawaz Sharif certainly also played a part in the overall strategy.

In deciding to join the caretaker setup, however, it appears that Benazir may have committed the single biggest mistake of her political career. Accepting the president's offer may have given her party a lion's share in the cabinet, with party stalwarts such as Farooq Leghari, Aitzaz Ahsan and Aftab Sherpao holding down key portfolios. But most party activists privately admit that the party's prestige among the masses will be lost completely as a result.

"Overnight, we have been reduced to a party of the establishment," said an angry party activist outside Benazir's residence in Islamabad. "What's the difference now between the PPP and the Muslim League, or the so-called tonga parties, all of whom are being accommodated in the same caretaker government?"

At the same time, partymen who view the recent turn of events in a favourable light say that the PPP may now finally be able to dissemble the administrative network that Nawaz Sharif had managed to spread all over the Punjab. This they say, will in turn deny Nawaz the edge he presumably enjoys in the largest province of the country. This is also the reason why the PPP and others like Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi and Zahid Sarfraz—or even Manzoor Gichki of Akbar Bugti's JWP [Jamhoori Watan Party]—are demanding the dissolution of the four provincial assemblies as well. The president and the caretaker prime minister have resisted so far, but they may ultimately have to give in to this demand to keep the interim setup intact.

Whether or not the provincial assemblies are dissolved, one thing is certain: the PPP's decision to join the caretaker setup is certainly going to dent the party's popular base. Sitting in a government comprising people with such divergent political ideologies has already deprived the PPP of its anti-establishment image. This label may have never been wholly appropriate, but the voters nonetheless viewed the PPP as such because it had always stood up to challenge authoritarianism and extra-parliamentary rule. Most senior party members believe that being part of the government is going to deny the

PPP the slogans and manifesto which, along with Bhutto's charisma, have been largely responsible for the party's success at the polls.

Of course, any talk of success at the polls is pertinent only if elections are held as promised. If the hints presently being dropped by the caretaker prime minister are anything to go by, the polls could very well be put off on one pretext or the other. In that eventuality, the beneficiaries would only be people like Kausar Niazi and other individuals in the caretaker setup, and certainly not the PPP, which has a popular base to draw on. At present, even Benazir Bhutto is finding it difficult to defend her actions, and is trying to cover them up by saying that creating a government of national consensus was her primary motivation in joining ranks with the caretakers.

However, Benazir is more than aware that given the existing polarised situation, a national consensus just cannot be reached. Most political observers in the capital believe that the PPP may well survive the present situation because the party has been off even worse crises in the past. Ironically, this time its struggle is to survive its brush with backdoor power rather than the usual onslaughts to keep it out at all costs. In the ultimate analysis, however, if one party is going to be the big loser in the recent machiavellian events in Islamabad, the PPP appears to be the most likely candidate.

Opposition Leader Calls Bhutto 'Incompetent'

93AS0862G Lahore *THE PAKISTAN TIMES* in English
22 Apr 93 p 14

[Article by Ghulam Tahir; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Quetta, April 21—Senator Yahya Bakhtiar, former Attorney General and Leader of Opposition in the Senate, said here today that Co-Chairperson of PPP [Pakistan People's Party] Ms Benazir Bhutto was incapable of taking any correct political decision in national interest or in the cause of poor people in spite of her pretense of concern for the poor and Pakistan.

In a written statement issued here today Senator Yahya Bakhtiar said that her latest move to call on President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and instigate him to dissolve the National Assembly (and also Provincial Assemblies) and dismiss an elected government under the 8th Amendment was an act of blatant betrayal of the people, of democracy and of Pakistan.

He maintained that Ms Benazir Bhutto had been condemning the atrocities, excesses, references and the torture on the party workers, over two years imprisonment of her husband and dismissal of her government under the Eighth Amendment. But now for achieving removal of Nawaz Sharif government which she had been demanding for about two years she could have adopted constitutional and democratic methods and not through 8th Amendment. "If the elections had been rigged (and this rigging was attributed by Benazir Bhutto

herself to Ghulam Ishaq Khan when she shouted at him Baba go, Baba go, in National Assembly in December 1990 there were again legal and constitutional remedies for that also and she asked them to challenge the illegal actions.

Senator Yahya Bakhtiar pointed out that it was sheer opportunism on her part to achieve a temporary political objective for personal aggrandisement. He said that by this action she had caused serious damage to Pakistan, to democracy and the PPP.

He declared that Ms Benazir Bhutto was no longer a national leader but a controversial politician whereas Nawaz Sharif inspite of his numerous weaknesses had emerged a national hero and leader.

Referring to President Ghulam Ishaq Khan he said that the President had never had any consideration for legality, morality or humanity in his official actions and he was a curse for Pakistan.

Eighth Amendment Said Substitute for Martial Law

93AS0846B Islamabad *THE MUSLIM* in English
27 Apr 93 p 6

[Article: "Eighth Amendment or Martial Law?"]

[Text] If it is true that the Eighth Amendment was designed as a substitute for martial law, and that every time it is invoked to dissolve the National Assembly this is actually a coup d-etat in disguise, then it would explain many things, especially the behaviour of the politicians.

The long years of martial law in this country since its independence is proof that the military wants a political role and a say in the country's policies. But during General Zia's rule in the '80s, martial law was becoming out of fashion in the international world. Remaining military juntas were internationally isolated and their countries could not develop the kind of normal relations with other countries which civilian governments could. Moreover, military rule was becoming a disqualification for foreign aid, as aid-giving countries found it increasingly difficult to justify dispensing aid to undemocratic governments led by military rulers.

One way in which the military could continue to have a political role in the country was constitutional representation in the National Assembly, just like in Thailand. For some reason, the Eighth Amendment solution was apparently preferred in Pakistan, both by the military and the politicians. The latter, led by the Junejo government—the first elected civilian government after the 1977 coup—passed the Eighth Amendment in the National Assembly in 1985 after intense arm-twisting and distribution of enormous bribes. Martial Law administrator Gen Zia shed his uniform for the civilian garb and became the first indirectly "elected" President under this new constitutional arrangement. The election itself was a fraud in the shape of a "referendum" which was openly rigged.

To date, the Eighth Amendment has been invoked three times to dissolve an elected civilian government; by Gen Zia in 1988 against the Junejo government, by Ghulam Ishaq Khan in 1990 against Benazir Bhutto's government and again by Ghulam Ishaq Khan now in 1993 against Nawaz Sharif's government. In all three cases, troops surrounded television and radio stations just before the announcement of dissolutions and all the chiefs of staff were believed to be present at the President's House for the dissolution announcement.

It is not quite clear how the Junejo and Benazir governments annoyed the military. Perhaps it was differences over policies in Afghanistan in the case of Junejo and on Operation Desert Storm in the case of Benazir. One can only guess. In the case of Nawaz Sharif, it was his tussle with the military as alleged in so many words by President Ghulam Ishaq Khan in his televised address to the nation.

From these three government dissolutions in eight years (1985-1993) only the military and the opportunistic politicians stand to gain from the Eighth Amendment. For the military, it provides the check against the politicians pursuing policies against its interests, while at the same time, shielding it from the international condemnation and isolation that would accompany martial law, especially when things go wrong in the country. For the weak-kneed politicians, the Eighth Amendment is a much desired alternative to martial law as it enables them to play a major role in the exercise of state power for self-perpetuation which a martial law regime would not permit.

This would explain why politicians continue to want to rule under the Eighth Amendment knowing full well that their elected governments can be dissolved anytime by an indirectly "elected" head of state. This would explain why politicians lack the will to fight against the Eighth Amendment because confronting the Eighth Amendment means not confronting the President *per se* but ostensibly the military.

How long can this arrangement continue? So long as there are politicians in the country willing to serve under the ignominy of the Eighth Amendment. Unfortunately for the nation, there are so many.

Military Rule Feared, Counseled Against

93AS0862J Karachi DAWN in English 1 May 93 p 7

[Article by M.B. Naqvi: "Getting Out of Imbroglio"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The dismissal of Nawaz Sharif government has plunged the country in a fearful crisis. The deposed premier had retained a majority in the National Assembly. The President, therefore, needed ampler political support than relying merely on the letter of the 8th Amendment. Benazir Bhutto's PPP [Pakistan People's Party], with PDA [People's Democratic Alliance], NDA [National Democratic Alliance] and even religious

parties in tow, provided him with a serviceable buffer to absorb the shock. Is everyone out of trouble?

Mr Nawaz Sharif's Karachi reception provides an answer: not quite. Founder hopes of the President's men that their chief needed extra support only initially have been belied; the President needs, apparently, as much support as he can possibly get. If Mian Sahib could get so much support in Karachi, he could expect much more from Punjab. The outlook cannot be too comforting for Mr. Ghulam Ishaq Khan.

In the ordinary course, it is the caretakers who should have sufficed; it is their weight, in addition to President's own, that should balance the opposition's. As it happens, the new government comprises a motley crowd. It has also started off on the wrong foot: its members have already indicated that (a) they are not strictly an ad interim arrangement, meant only for organising polls on July 14; (b) none of them are affirming their neutrality; (c) they are claiming to be a government of national consensus, trying hard to equate this formulation to mean a national government; (d) after Mr Zahid Safaraz, it is PM Balakh Sher Mazari who has hinted that the polls date can be extended into the future; and (e) one already hears the old prattle about accountability that one heard after Gen Ziaul Haq's takeover in 1977 and after President Ghulam Ishaq Khan's dismissal of Benazir government. True, no one has yet quite said 'accountability before elections'. But one expects to hear that any time.

Then, these better fellows (than the Nawaz Sharif crowd) are, apparently, working at cross purposes. Benazir's men claim they have been promised the sacking of all the provincial assemblies. The others, including Mr Nazari, say that it is not at all necessary to dismiss provincial assemblies, especially Punjab's. This alone is a first-rate crisis for the one fortnight old government.

The country's external standing has taken a plunge; our image as an unstable and basically non-democratic society has become more strongly etched. Foreign private investment is threatened. Foreign aid through the World Bank Consortium is a fraction more uncertain. The U.S. is keeping the pressure on Islamabad high: its sword of Damocles of declaring this country a terrorist state continues to menace. No one knows how it will finally react to Sharif government's sacking. Indian government can be expected to paint this country in an even darker hue.

We have to pull ourselves out of the political imbroglio that the third dismissal of a nominally democratic government in five years has pushed us into. Who has the moral authority to be able to do so. Let us not forget that it was an elected government, with an unimpaired majority in National Assembly, that was dismissed in which case, it should be either President's moral authority or the prestige of interim wallahs who should be expected to do the trick.

The President, by relying on, and inducting, the PPP ministers on April 18 and subsequently, especially Asif Ali Zardari, has shot himself in the foot: he cannot escape some blame and damage to both his credibility and moral authority: either he had dismissed the Benazir government wrongly (and his charges were unfounded) or his swearing in of PPP men now is unprincipled. The context is obviously the controversial sacking of National Assembly [NA], the chief symbol of, and trouble shooter in, a democracy. We cannot now rely on the elected representatives of the people for extricating the country from the dumps in which it has fallen.

As for the interim government, what prestige and moral authority can it claim against an elected government enjoying NA majority? It includes, mostly, yesterday's men, some of them having a controversial past. Mr Zahid Sarfraz (car scandal of 1970s) and Maulana Kausar Niazi's performance during 1972-77 in tightly regimenting the Press and other media are outstanding examples. Mr Mazari is, of course, virginally new. But not others. They cannot even call into question the electoral credentials of Mr Nawaz Sharif without associating their main benefactor, the President, with the rigging of the 1990 election—for ultimately it was his personnel responsibility to hold free polls—and provide more ammunition to Benazir and PPP. Finally, the way Wyne ministry was toppled on April 25 and Wattoo made CM by 154 MPAs [Member of Provincial Assembly] as turning coats is sure to discredit both the caretakers and the President whose promise of retaining the PA [Provincial Assembly] provided the motivation for this change.

If the President and the interim government are in no shape to pull us out of the hole we are in, who else can? Not the main opposition party of Sharif government days: the PPP. Benazir and PPP have acted in an equally unprincipled manner: It may be ancient history but few can forget their anxiety to get into office after narrowly winning the 1988 polls. They disgraced their electoral authority by stooping to accept President Ghulam Ishaq's and COAS [Chief of Army Staff] Aslam Beg's humiliating terms: acceptance of 8th Amendment, voting Mr GIK [Ghulam Ishaq Khan] for five years and all.

When President GIK dismissed the PPP government, while it still possessed an NA majority, they made a lot of song and dance about 8th Amendment being an abomination and, of course, there was the 'Go Baba Go' interlude. But when President GIK used his privileges again, Benazir and the PPP sided with the President: they had been demanding the Sharif government's dismissal for many months with the help of the same heated 8th Amendment powers; they have accepted office without an electoral mandate, seizing the opportunity provided by a questionable use of questionable powers. Nothing could be more cynical and unprincipled. The same goes more or less for PDA, NDA and religious parties.

What of Mr Sharif who seems to have received an unexpected quantum of support in Karachi and Lahore? Can his moral authority make the grade? It is even more threadbare. Apart from what the President has said about his being a beneficiary of 8th Amendment and the role of the ISI [Inter Service Intelligence] in forming IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] and destabilising Benazir government, he has behaved far too inconsistently. I do not have to detail what the official publicists are drumming into people's ears from electronic media. His is not a credible Messiah's role for the nation.

What is left after the National Assembly has been killed? Nothing much, I would say. No doubt many have suggested, more or less shyly or with glee, that armed forces do have a role. It is a painful subject to write on. One likes to cherish armed forces as a non-controversial national institution. Unfortunately far too many generals have been up to their necks in politics even when they did not take over. Gens. Aslam Beg and Asif Nawaz Janjua are examples. While the former's role is generally known, the latter's politicking has been in full display during the last 10 months in Karachi and Hyderabad.

Anyway, the generals' role can only be harmful, indeed dangerous. Whatever they do, except uncharacteristically their staying quiet and completely out of politics, will be bad. Much is said about the mess politicians tend to make. Perhaps they do (in this underdeveloped country that has been made more underdeveloped by the generals' past ministrations). [as published] But the solution does not include any role for generals—they have to do absolutely nothing. Everything they can do, (especially another take-over) will only take us nearer destruction.

Let no one forget the terrible mess the generals always make. Ayub Khan's role in Bengalis' alienation and East Pakistan crisis cannot be ignored. Yahya Khan, of course, led us to disaster in an obvious way. Zia's 11 years have given us—apart from Sindhis' sense of deprivation and grievances, the aftermath of 1983 MRD [Movement for the Restoration of Democracy] campaign, now Urdu-speaking youths' near-alienation and accentuation of so many divisive trends—an Islamisation programme that goes on adding confusion, Eighth Amendment that is a solvent of democracy and of course the Kalashnikovs and heroin culture. We have to go on paying a stiff price for God knows how long.

Neither backseat driving, a la Aslam Beg and Janjua, nor an open takeover are an option. Former will not work, as it has brought us to this pass. This time round, an open takeover might invite active resistance, with the dire threat of fearful strife. It will irretrievably damage national integrity.

Finally the nation has to return to its own under-utilised resources of intellect as well as the people, the actual force of the last resort. It is they who alone can save themselves—provided its thinking types earn their keep.

Awami Party Fears Autocratic Rule

93AS0862F Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English
25 Apr 93 p 7

[Text] Lahore, April 24—The National Awami Party [ANP] President and National Assembly ex-Member Ajmal Khan Khattak has apprehended an autocratic rule, if the elections would not be held on July 14.

Mr. Khattak even doubted the intentions of the interim government for holding elections within 90 days while addressing a Press conference here today. He said the interim government would pave a way for the martial law. He said although his party had never supported the idea of dismissal of an elected government, yet the Benazir government's sacking was right and the Nawaz' wrong.

He said his party would continue to support Nawaz Sharif as long as he would walk with them with hand in hands. He said ANP had always believed in the principles of politics and had supported Nawaz Sharif government in order to contribute in the flourishing of democracy in the country.

He considered the sacking of Nawaz' government a part of the America's new world order, adding that the politicians who contributed in ousting of an elected government were not sincere with the country.

Mr. Khattak suggested that all the politicians should evolve a unanimous code of ethics for themselves before the coming elections, as failing to do so would lead the country towards a disaster.

ANP President criticised the induction of Mr. Asif Zardari in the cabinet. He said at least, the references filed in the court against him should have been withdrawn. He said by inducting Mr. Zardari into the interim government's cabinet, President had made his position controversial.

He also criticised the role of PPP [Pakistan People's Party] in whole the episode. He considered the PPP deal with the President in ousting the Nawaz government a worst example of bad politics.

Khattak also predicted that it was the last time that the 8th Amendment had been used to oust an elected government as it would not be easy in future to repeat the same. However, he observed that President Ghulam Ishaq Khan would be a loser in future.

Cynicism Over National Politics Seen Increasing

93AS0862A Karachi HERALD in English 15 May 93 p 42

[Article by Ayaz Amir: "Cynical Depression"]

[Text] Even battle-hardened people, weary in the pursuit of cynicism, are having some difficulty in adjusting their sights to the latest developments to shake the Republic.

The people of this country, or at least that section of them who have a memory for such things, are used to coups and arbitrary dismissals of governments (just as they are used to the unctiousness of the higher judiciary when its judgments are dictated by the doctrine of necessity). But inured though they may be to these developments, they still expect a certain minimum level of sophistication in the lies that necessarily accompany a political upheaval. In other words, they do not mind falsehoods so much if those falsehoods do not insult their intelligence.

This precisely is the problem with the dismissal of the Nawaz Sharif government. The claims being made and the arguments being advanced to justify it are so thin that only partisans with an axe grind will be ready to swallow them unhesitatingly.

Ghulam Ishaq Khan's dissolution order itself is so badly drafted, the points listed in it to justify the previous government's dismissal so unconvincing, that it is a wonder that the president did not blush or fumble more than he actually did while reading it.

Take, for instance, the paragraph about the allegations of Begum Nuzhat Asif Nawaz: "The serious allegations made by Begum Nuzhat Asif Nawaz as to the high-handed treatment meted out to her husband, the late army chief of staff, and the further allegations as to the circumstances culminating in his death, indicate that the highest functionaries of the federal government have been subverting the authority of the armed forces and the machinery of the government and the constitution itself." Since when has it become proper for unproven allegations to become the basis of a government's dismissal? Furthermore, if General Asif Nawaz really suffered high-handed treatment at the hands of people like Brigadier Imtiaz and Chaudhry Nisar Ali Khan, then it does not say much for his intrepidity or his heroic military qualities.

The tussle culminating in Nawaz Sharif's dismissal was conducted so much in the open and it went on for so long that even uneducated peasants were aware of what was happening. Had the president given a straightforward and honest account of his differences with the former prime minister and how in those circumstances it was difficult for the business of government to be conducted, there would have been greater popular acceptability of the president's actions. But the specious arguments in the dissolution order and in the president's subsequent speech on radio and television have only made people more cynical about national politics and more angry about the president's motives.

There is more resentment against the president's actions than is coming out in the newspapers. And this resentment is not confined to the business community alone but shared by a wide section of public opinion. By the same token, there is sympathy for Nawaz Sharif as a man who was doing something (the yellow taxi scheme, the motorway, the distribution of land among haris, the

well-publicised visits to rape victims, being the most prominent things mentioned in this connection) but who was not allowed to do anything more by an overbearing and prejudiced president.

In Punjab, especially, feelings against the president and in favour of Nawaz Sharif are running high. Armchair analysts probably do not realise the extent of this feeling but they would if they were to keep a rein over their prejudices and check out popular feeling in public places. This scarcely means that Nawaz Sharif was the embodiment of all virtue as prime minister. Only this that the president's action has created a backlash of sympathy in the deposed premier's favour.

That the same people against whom the president filed references have now been sworn in by him into the federal cabinet has not been lost on anyone. There has never been much moral force in the conduct of higher politics in Pakistan but whatever shreds of it remained have also been destroyed as a result of the cynicism and plain disbelief generated by the turnarounds witnessed in Islamabad and the intrigues conducted to throw Ghulam Haider Wyne out as chief minister of the Punjab.

As a matter of fact, no one on Ghulam Ishaq's side of the political divide has come out looking good from this crisis. Not the president who has further spiked his already damaged credibility. Not the political parties, including the PPP [Pakistan People's Party], which supported the president in this crisis and whose luminaries have fallen over themselves in the scramble for ministries. Not the Muslim League MPAs [Member of Provincial Assembly] in the Punjab assembly who have shown less dignity than ordinary rodents in the way in which they have left their sinking ship.

As for Benazir Bhutto, she can claim the satisfaction of being courted and rewarded by her former enemies but even if her vote banks is intact, she has been exposed as an unprincipled politician, as unprincipled as anyone else in the political arena.

The pre-1958 era is famous in Pakistani mythology for its intrigues and its unprincipled alliances. The latest events in the country compare favourably with anything thrown up by that disjointed period in the nation's history.

U.S. Said To Fear Nation's Islamic Movements

93AS0890B Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 12 May 93 p 1

[Article: "U.S. Afraid of Islamic Movements in Pakistan—Qazi Hussein Ahmed"]

[Text] Qazi Hussein Ahmed, chief of Jamaat-i-Islami Pakistan (JI), said that the leadership of this country has accepted the "new world order." He added that the United States wants to place protection of this region's interests in the hands of India and wants Pakistan to reach an agreement with India, instead of confronting it. He made this statement while addressing a public

meeting organized by Pasvan in Rajanpur. Qazi Hussein Ahmed said that Pakistan cannot leave Kashmiri Muslims alone, and that until the Kashmir issue is resolved, there is no room for a better relationship between India and Pakistan. He added that the United States is part of the conspiracy to force Pakistan to withdraw its aid to Kashmiri Muslims. The Pakistani people, however, are going to fight this conspiracy, and will continue to help Azad Kashmir mujaheddin until Kashmir is freed. Qazi Ahmed further said that the United States is afraid that Pakistan will become the center of the Islamic movement, because these movements will lead the Islamic campaigns in the world. He said that Nawaz Sharif, Benazir Bhutto, Balakh Sher Mazari, and Ghulam Ishaq Khan are pushing Pakistan into slavery just to keep America happy. Qazi Hussein Ahmed said that JI will announce a national front composed of all patriotic and religious parties on 24 May in Lahore. In this context, all religious leaders, thinkers, and important people have been invited. He said that the situation of the country will be presented at this important convention, and steps for the future will be discussed.

U.S. Said 'Blackmailing' Nation Over Policies

93AS0890C Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 17 May 93 p 6

[Editorial: "American Blackmail"]

[Text] John Mallot, the U. S. deputy secretary of state, expressed some opinions while talking to newsmen in Islamabad last week. It is clear from his talk that the United States wants to force its wishes on Pakistan. It wants Pakistan's foreign, economic, nuclear, and all other important policies to be formed according to U. S. policies and with its permission. Pakistan has to obey the United States, even in its internal political affairs. Mallot's statement also hinted that our government has started to take some steps to keep the United States happy, and he declared the dismissal of two military officers to be an encouraging step in this direction. There appears to be no room for doubt that efforts to keep the United States happy have been afoot for a long time. The ministers and other important officers of the former government used to visit Washington, D.C. one after another for this purpose. The main goal of their visits was to assure American officials of their loyalty; however, they were trying to mislead the Pakistani people by saying that they were in the United States to remove U. S. misunderstandings, and by declaring that they were successful in their missions.

It appears that the recent visit by PPP [Pakistan People's Party] leader Benazir Bhutto to the United States was for the same purpose. By keeping the nation in the dark and without taking it into confidence, the policy of kneeling down in front of the United States is equivalent to treachery to the 120 million people of Pakistan. The change of policy on Kashmir is a national crime of the sort which cannot be pardoned. The U. S. Deputy Secretary of State, John Mallot, revealed the secret that Pakistan has assured that it would stop aiding the

Kashmir mujaheddin. Still, the United States is not happy with Pakistan. Mallot said that it wants Pakistan to act upon its promises. He also accused that the Kashmiri mujaheddin and Pakistani terrorists were targeting innocent civilians in Kashmir. In addition, he also accused Pakistan of being involved in violent activities in East Punjab.

Even after all these assurances, the sword of being labeled a terrorist nation will still hang over Pakistan's head. This allows the United States to continue blackmailing Pakistan. John Mallot's way of talking indicates clearly that the United States supports the Indian stand on the Kashmir issue and the nuclear program. It wants to impose various restrictions on Pakistan to force it to accept an embarrassing agreement with India.

The United States knows well that the basic reason for the conflict between India and Pakistan is Kashmir. Pakistan wants to resolve this issue according to the resolution passed in the United Nations, which means that the people of Kashmir will be given the right to make a decision about their state's merger. But the United States calls the UN resolutions useless and untimely, and is demanding that it be resolved according to the Simla Agreement. Thus, it is going to ignore the people of Pakistan and Kashmir in order to protect Indian interests.

We believe that the United States is trying to start talks on the Kashmir issue between India and Pakistan, just like it has started the series of peace talks between the Arabs and the Israelis in the name of the Middle East Peace Conference. The United States is bent upon taking unnecessary advantage of the upset balance of power in the world, and on hurting the Muslims. President Clinton continues to make verbal promises about Bosnia; however, he makes excuses of failing to convince the Western allies to take military action against Serbia and provide weapons to Muslims.

It is unfortunate that Pakistani rulers and political acrobats have risked our nation just for their vested interests. They have compromised their national pride to the United States of America. Therefore, it is important that a leadership that is brave, sincere, and full of Islamic emotion emerges now.

U.S. Pressure Claimed on Closure of Refugee Centers

93AS0890E Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu
17 May 93 p 8

[Article: "Pakistan Closing Refugee Camps Under U.S. Pressure"]

[Text] Islamabad (By Sultan Sikandar)—The Pakistani government, under U. S. pressure, has closed the offices of mujahed organizations and refugee relief camps that helped the refugees coming from occupied Kashmir. This was revealed by Abdul Rashid Tarabi, chief of

Jamaat-i-Islami of Azad Jammu-Kashmir, in an NAWA-I-WAQT interview on Sunday at the Kashmir Information Center. He criticized the Pakistani caretaker government and co-PPP [Pakistan People's Party] Chairman and former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, and said that it appeared that the government and the opposition, in their tug-of-war for power and to make the United States happy, have forgotten the Kashmir issue and their brothers in Kashmir. He also said that the Indian military has accelerated its massacres in Kashmir, taking advantage of the political uncertainty prevalent in Pakistan. Even worse than this is that the caretaker government, which did not have any clear Kashmir policy, has even closed the refugee relief camps. The prime minister of Azad Kashmir, Sardar Abdul Qayum Khan, is more worried about staying in power and is a silent spectator of this deplorable situation.

He said that the stunt of the U. S. team's inspection of sensitive regions in Azad Kashmir is equivalent to interference in Azad Kashmir's internal affairs. Azad Kashmir is basically the base camp for the Kashmir campaign, and no power in the world can stop this base camp from playing its role. All in all the attitude of Azad Kashmir rulers is wholly embarrassing. Abdul Rashid Tarabi said that the movement to free Kashmir is associated with the defense of Pakistan, and that the government of Pakistan could get into a serious crisis because of its negligence. This would jeopardize Pakistan's security. He said that the people of Pakistan and the political parties there must take notice of this serious situation.

Jiye Sindh President Demands Independence for States

93AS0931C Karachi AMN in Urdu 8 Jun 93 p 8

[Article: "Pakistan Be Declared Federation of Five Nations—Jhokrani"]

[Text] Nawab Shah, 4 June (PPA)—Mr. Gul Mohammed Jhokrani, central chairman of the Jiye Sindh movement and leader of the newly organized nationalist organization called the United Nationalist Alliance (UNA), said that the Pakistan People's Party [PPP] has always practiced a politics of deceit and personal differences. Because of these biased policies, the people of Sindh have suffered immeasurable losses. While talking to PPA on the telephone, he said that the PPP has no program for the welfare and development of the people of Sindh. Instead, the whole focus of its politics has been against various individuals. In the beginning it opposed Ayub Khan. Later, it opposed Ziaul Haq, and now it is trying to keep its politics alive by opposing Nawaz Sharif. Until yesterday, the leadership of the PPP was opposed to Ishaq Khan, but now, because of its vested interests, it is supporting him. He said that the people of Sindh have given this mandate to the PPP; however, it has always harmed them, which is why the PPP has lost its influence in Sindh now. Gul Mohammed Jhokrani said that the UNA was established through the

mutual cooperation of nationalist parties in Sindh. This party will campaign to help in the resolving problems the Sindhi people are facing, especially those related to the Kala Bagh Dam, the arrival of Biharis, and the construction of military bases in Sindh. He said that the UNA demands that Pakistan be recognized as a federation of five states. These include Sindh, Punjab, Saraiki, Balochistan, and Sarhad. The UNA considers Pakistan as a country composed of the Sindhi, Punjabi, Saraiki, Balochi, and Pathan communities. He said that according to the UNA charter, the federal government should have control of the currency, foreign policy, and customs. It should be administrated through equal representation from the four states. He added that the military operations in these states should be stopped immediately, because it is not a permanent solution to Sindh's problem. He further said that he was not in support of either side in the conflict between the president and the prime minister, because it is a struggle for power.

Most Elevated Urged To Keep Democracy in Mind

93AS0846A Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
27 Apr 93 p 6

[Article: "Who Brought Politics to this Stage?"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] What took place in the Punjab Assembly Sunday, should normally evoke disgust and nausea. However, the people of this country are by now inured to exhibitions of this sort. They have come to such a pass where nothing affects them badly. Everybody who watched the proceedings of the provincial assembly on television, knew exactly why the 'honourable' members acted in the undignified manner which they did. The supporters of the former chief Minister Ghulam Haider Wyne, resorted to violence because they had been provoked into it. Certainly not because Speaker Manzoor Watoo and his supporters had openly expressed the desire to move a no-confidence motion against CM [Chief Minister] Wyne. That is the parliamentary way and Mr Wyne himself said so. It was the chain of events which led to the no-confidence move which infuriated his supporters. According to news reports Speaker Watoo brought 149 members of the Punjab Assembly to Islamabad by air on April 22. At whose expense? They were put up in a five-star hotel, entertained to a meal at Bhurban, by the caretaker Prime Minister Mr Balakh Sher Mazari. Who footed the bill? They met the President during their sojourn in the capital—what in aid of? Then they were flown back to Lahore on April 25, the date fixed for voting on the no-confidence move. Who paid for this air dash? From the airport they were taken straight to the provincial assembly premises at I am packed in a train of air-conditioned coaches ... Then given lunch there and entertained till the House met. This is certainly what irked the Wyne camp. And quite naturally, too.

All this recalls to mind events which took place in 1990, when the Nawaz PML [Pakistan Muslim League] was frantically trying to push a no-confidence move through against the then Prime Minister Ms Benazir Bhutto. The Nawaz Sharif faction literally held its supporters hostage in Murree while the Benazir faction did likewise with its supporters by transporting them to Mingora in Swat. Just as we have done now, we witnessed some of the most blatant horse-trading then. Since then, horse-trading has been a hallmark of Pakistani politics. Shortly before the ouster of the Nawaz Sharif government, amounts like one and two crores were being bandied about conversationally. By implication, people expected things to be no different in respect of the no-confidence move against Mr Wyne. To make assurance doubly sure, no doubt on the instructions of the powers that be in the capital, on April 25 the Punjab Assembly was under siege, being guarded by heavily armed contingents of police covering an area of a mile around its parameters. It was a state of curfew! In the circumstances, what were Mr Wyne's supporters supposed to do other than what they did?

In a scenario where duly elected governments are dismissed at the blink of an eyelid by the President of the country, it is no wonder that politicians resort to give vent to their unendurable frustrations rather than adopting genteel parliamentary norms. Having successfully weathered three martial laws, enjoying no mean status in all three, the President himself must have learned to admire the rules prevalent during military dictatorships. No surprise, therefore, that he has sworn to defend the infamous Eighth Amendment as a sacrosanct part of the constitution and had no hesitation whatsoever in dismissing two elected governments under its cover. On some occasions we have had the public take to the streets in the past. We are now seeing politicians acting like enraged juveniles in the assemblies because no government has any sense of security while the Eighth Amendment hangs over their heads like the Sword of Damocles. Self-perpetuation is, perhaps, a natural desire but is by no means a sane one. In the ultimate analysis, it proves to be self-defeating. It is high time the most elevated in the land thought in terms of the larger national interest and allowed this country to return to the democratic process.

Deportation of Arab Nationals Condemned

93AS0891B Karachi *TAKBEER in Urdu* 22 Apr 93 p 2

[Editorial: "Tragic, Shameful, Reprehensible."]

[Text] Over the past week, the Frontier government has been arresting Arab mujahadeen and expelling them from Pakistan. These men came here during Afghanistan's jihad and rendered outstanding service to the cause. They have been living legally in Pakistan for the past several years and they carry the passports of their countries. Because of the key role played by Pakistan in Afghanistan's jihad, these individuals bear great and sincere love for this country. They are connected with various international Islamic movements and since most Muslim countries are ruled by secular minded governments, conditions in their own countries are not favorable to these individuals. They are greatly interested in the experiment of the promulgation of Islamic

law being tried in Pakistan and are studying Pakistan's efforts in that direction with a view to introducing a similar Islamic system in their own countries. Some of these individuals are highly capable professionals, teachers, and scholars; they are not a burden on Pakistan but are contributing to the progress of the country. In view of these facts, police raids on the houses of these people, their arrest and the arrest of their families and their expulsion from the country, all carried out under the name of the "Peshawar operation" deserve severe condemnation. Apparently, this campaign against these individuals was the result of prime minister Nawaz Sharif's recent meeting with Egypt's president Hosni Mubarak during which Mubarak complained that Egyptian mujahedeen who had returned to Egypt after the end of the Afghanistan jihad were taking part in activities against the Mubarak government. In our view, such a complaint does not justify such a reprehensible undertaking. Arab mujahedeen are the benefactors of Pakistan; by fighting in the Afghan jihad they in fact fought for the defense of Pakistan. In the Arab world, these individuals are Pakistan's sincere ambassadors. Their mistreatment will cost Pakistan dearly in every way. By trying to please a few rulers, who may not be rulers tomorrow, Pakistan will be deprived of the support of millions of Arabs who love Pakistan, the gift given by God, because of its Islamic role. On the other hand, our Afghan brothers will be displeased; they will be greatly disturbed by these actions against the benefactors of Pakistan and Afghanistan; they will consider the deportations a betrayal of faith by the Pakistan government and they will lose all trust in Pakistan's rulers.

We do not consider the argument valid that this issue could affect our bilateral relations with certain Arab governments, for, if that were true, relations would have suffered long before now. These Arab nationals have been living in Pakistan for the past 14 or 15 years. They did not flee their countries and come to Pakistan because they had committed any crime or rebelled against their governments although in many countries of the world, such individuals are granted political asylum and granting such asylum does not affect relations between countries.

Hence, we demand that the central and provincial governments cease immediately their reprehensible "Peshawar operation" against Arab nationals, release the individuals who have been arrested and compensate them adequately for the physical and mental anguish they have suffered.

Egyptian Militants Said Being Sent to Sudan

93AS0890D Lahore MUSAWAT in Urdu 10 May 93 p 8

[Article: "Egypt Sending 230 Fundamentalists to Sudan"]

[Text] Cairo (MUSAWAT Report)—A representative of the Egyptian Foreign Ministry stated that 230 fundamentalist Muslims have been extricated by Pakistan to Sudan. The Egyptian government is against these fundamentalists because of their activities. According to the source, Egypt was discussing details of returning these fundamentalists to Egypt. They had joined the Afghan mujahedeen and were

living in Peshawar after the fall of the communist government in Kabul. Last week, an Egyptian security force made the accusation that about 150 fundamentalists who had training with the Afghan mujahedeen were active in terrorist activities to displace the Egyptian government. Since March 1992, about 140 fundamentalists have been killed in activities against the government. Egyptian government officials are angry at Pakistan's so-called expulsion of 230 fundamentalists. The Egyptian officials said that Pakistan should have handed these fundamentalists over to Egypt, because their presence on the Egypt-Sudan border could prove to be a time bomb. Pakistan had agreed with the Egyptian government to send these terrorists to Sudan instead of handing them over to the Egyptian government. It was learned that Isama Bin Ladan, an Arab trader, acted as a go-between for Pakistan, Sudan, and the fundamentalist Muslims. He sent these terrorists to Sweden at his own expense. Isama Bin Ladan considers himself a fundamentalist Muslim. He is being sought by the Saudi government for his involvement in many anti-Saudi terrorist activities. Meanwhile, the Egyptian government is increasing security on the thousand-mile-long Egypt-Sudan border to stop entry by these fundamentalists into Egypt.

Bhutto Questions Army Neutrality in Prolonged Crisis

BK0407120393 Islamabad THE NATION in English
4 Jul 93 pp 1, 4

[Text] Islamabad—Benazir Bhutto has said that the army has been playing a neutral role but if the prevailing chaos continues to brew up, it would be hard to say for how long that impartial posture could be maintained.

The PPP [Pakistan People's Party] co-chairperson said this while responding to questions at the Islamabad airport on her return from Karachi on Saturday. A simple-looking Ms Bhutto was asked whether there was any danger of martial law in the country. "The situation is serious. If the civilian machinery collapses as in the case of present scenario, that is bound to put pressure on the army."

She said that when there is no respect for the Constitution and institutions and uncertainty and chaos [words indistinct] anything can happen.

Said Benazir, "It is high time that Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif abandons his stubbornness and inflexibility and sits together with the President and Leader of the Opposition to discuss the three-point formula put forward by her in her budget speech. If I were the Prime Minister, I would [words indistinct] order to formulate some kind of constitutional package."

Her three-point formula includes formation of national government, introduction of a constitutional package and holding of fresh elections. She said that elections were not the only remedy and the process had to be accompanied by a constitutional package which could provide a viable political system.

She said that if her three-point formula was seriously considered by the government, the situation would have been much better today.

Criticising the government's attitude while invoking Article 234, she said that the government is trying to mix up the issue. "The issue is not that whether the government should have sent the summary to the President for notification. The substantive issue is that subversion of the Constitution and violation of the parliamentary system has been committed. The resolution was neither put on the Order of the Day nor members of the Opposition were told about it beforehand.

"We believe that the only reason the said Article was invoked, was to have Lahore under control rightly or wrongly. The government is so desperate to bring Punjab under its belt that Rangers were sent to storm the Chief Minister House and the Secretariat as if it was running a civilian martial law.

We also object to the government's design to unconstitutionally revive Punjab Assembly through a resolution of the joint sitting of the Parliament.

That is why we have told the President that if the Prime Minister decides to shoot somebody through ample majority in Parliament, the former should not allow the latter to do so."

She also took exception to the government's repeated decisions to take political matters to the court. "The present crisis has been continuing [words indistinct] are we going to take political issue to the courts.

A political crisis can only be resolved through political options and not through judicial judgements."

Intelligence Agency Changes Viewed, Analyzed

93AS0894H Lahore *THE NATION* in English
11 May 93 p 10

[Article by Umer Alam: "Changes in Secret Agencies Bring Relief to Certain Political Quarters"]

[Text] Karachi—With the changing political scenario in the country and washout of mainstream leadership of the Pakistan's Supreme Secret Agencies have created a mixed situation.

According to experts in the field of intelligence, the recent change of guards at the Inter-Services Intelligence, commonly known as ISI and Intelligence Bureau (IB) has given relief to certain political quarters but worry to some top political leadership in Sindh rural areas as old self-claimed pundits who claimed close rapport with the intelligence agencies have been spared as they were manoeuvring and enjoying their free-for-all intelligence ethics and operations authored by their self-motivated interest. They were viewing the Sindh situation sitting in Islamabad while the ground realities were exactly opposite to their assessment of the situation.

Since President Ziaul Haq's demise one of the senior intelligence agencies had brought the Sindh political situation to such an ethnic divide that the elders of the country, sitting in Islamabad's 'White House' and security guards at the GHQ had to have repeated closed-door head-to-head meetings to ascertain the future of the province which was almost on the brink of becoming an independent state.

The experts and operational set-up of these agencies were arranged and tailored according to the most effective single-person-rule method in the intelligence language game. From the time of Late Gen. Zia these agencies were particularly catering to the head man crossing all the limits of the land, and even the national interest was put at stake.

The main goals of the intelligence secret network, during the period, were used to counter the internal political heavy weights in Sindh rather than endeavouring to counter the enemy's anti-Pakistan operations.

It is quite evident from the fact that for the last 13 years Sindh particularly its metropolitan city—Karachi—has been the main target of terrorism undertaken by the neighbouring country's secret agencies and further the ethnic violence.

At many stages our secret agencies did not even-spare the respected institution like Pakistan Army by creating conditions that it directly hit the integrity of the forces.

It is generally believed that ex-premier late Zulfikar Ali Bhutto used the intelligence agencies to strengthen his rule and to wrap up the political process. But it is now discovered that since the time of late President Zia till this day, except ex-Prime Minister late Muhammad Khan Junejo, all the rulers have abused the intelligence forces of the country against the national interest and against one another.

If seen on the international horizon today the intelligence agencies of Pakistan stand no where as far as the effective gathering of human intelligence and application of sophisticated electronic gadgets are concerned.

The head of State, Chief Executive and Foreign Affairs Minister today lack in receiving quality intelligence from these sensitive agencies for decision-making and policy implementation purposes. That's why the most deadly Indian Raw (research and analysis wing) Operation, Pakistan could not counter their acts of terrorism at the international platform whereas Indians have used the Kashmir and Punjab bogey so cleverly to the extent that the Americans are today on the verge of declaring Pakistan a terrorist state.

The experts believe that with the top level changes in the secret agencies of the country the quality of intelligence work would improve and the new intelligence leadership would restrict the operations to the national interest rather than infringing upon the internal political issues as Pakistan today is faced with more of an external threat

rather than internal political situation. Therefore, these agencies have a major role to perform to save Pakistan from all external threats.

With their unlimited resources and disposition towards non-accountability these agencies could use the best of its mind to a productive national cause, experts advised.

However, in order to maintain an even smarter appearance our secret agencies should shed off its feudalistic character and perfect their professionals who should become experts in their chosen field of interest, experts suggested.

The experts further stress that all the intelligence agencies in Pakistan which have an independent role to play should avoid intruding in each other's area thus avoiding agency-clash.

Change in ISI Chief Seen Significant

93AS0869B Karachi DAWN in English 9 May 93 p 7

[Article by A. R. Siddiqi: "ISI: Changing of the Guard"]

[Text] After the appointment (or retirement) of a service chief, especially chief of the army staff, no other military appointment (or retirement) attracts such close attention as that of the DG [Director General], ISI [Inter-Service Intelligence].

Among the service chiefs, Lt. Gen. Gul Hassan's remains the only case of a dramatic promotion followed by an equally dramatic and uncereceremonious retirement within less than three months of his appointment as the last commander-in-chief of the Pakistan Army.

The abnormal circumstance of Gul's retirement (technically, compulsory, premature due to no fault of the officer!) by Z. A. Bhutto, asserting his absolute power and authority over the armed forces as President, CMLA [Chief Martial Law Administrator] and supreme commander, also led to the redesignation of the office of the C-in-C [Commander-in-Chief] as chief of (army, navy or air) staff.

As for the DG ISI, every incumbent on the job, in an hour of crisis, had stayed in the limelight of the media, abroad and at home.

In 1965, through the Kutch encounter and subsequently the first India-Pakistan war Brig. (later Lieut-Gen) Riaz, had his share of spotlight in the foreign and domestic media. Gen. Akbar, much to his own discomfiture as a publicity-shy individual, was pitchforked into the limelight through the East Pakistan crisis in 1971.

His successor, Gen. Ghulam Jilani, an appointee of Z. A. Bhutto, managed to keep a low profile and ended up as the Governor of Punjab. Gen. Akhtar Abdul Rahman, who took over from Jilani, was recognised far and wide, as Gen. Zia's master planner, and principal trouble

shooter throughout the Afghanistan resistance. He organised the Afghan cell which was responsible, among others, for the rapid transit of U.S arms and funds to the various mujahideen groups.

On Gen. Rehman's elevation to the four star slot and, appointment as Chairman, Joint Chief of Staff Committee, Lt. Gen. Hamid Gul, by far the best-known and controversial DG ISI, took over to make his directorate-general rub shoulders with CIA, Mossad and RAW [Research & Analysis Wing], as one of the world's premier intelligence agencies.

Hamid Gul handed over to a retired officer, Lieut. Gen. Shamsur Rahman Kullue to stir much controversy within the services and the public. The appointment of a retired General, regardless of his impeccable credentials as a career officer, in practical terms, amounted to civilianising the ISI at the top. Although an inter-services body, technically under civilian control, GHQ [General Headquarters] exercises considerable hold over the ISI, headed, traditionally and without a break, by an army general.

The appointment of retired general Kullue followed the recommendations of a committee set up by Ms. Benazir Bhutto, then prime minister, under the chairmanship of retired Air Chief Marshal Zulfikar Ali Khan. That was Ms Bhutto's first major blunder in her dealings with the armed forces. The induction of a retired general into the citadel of ISI not only ended GHQ's hold over it but also meant the loss of one of the most prized appointments, tenable by a Lieut-Gen. of the army.

Kullue's removal from the job came soon after the dismissal of Ms Bhutto's government early in August 1990 by the President. A serving officer Maj. Gen. Durrani succeeded him to stay, unlike his predecessors, largely as a shadow figure. He was by far the least talked about head of the ISI.

Within a couple of months of his appointment as Chairman, Pakistan Ordnance Factories, Lieut-Gen. Javed Nasir, was transferred to head the ISI in a dramatic move by the then Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. The appointment of the bearded General, known for his strong religious (fundamentalist) beliefs, raised many an eye-brow especially in the diplomatic circles. It was also projected as a matter of some disagreement between the prime minister and the army chief General Asif Nawaz, believed to be contrary to the wishes of the latter.

Javed Nasir found himself caught in the middle of the Afghanistan crisis almost immediately after taking over the ISI. Afghan President Najibullah resigned in the middle of April, 1992 to create a power vacuum that no single mujahideen group or coalition could fill. Javed Nasir assisted Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif in brokering the Peshawar Accord of April 24. The Accord succeeded in installing a Mujahideen government in Kabul under Prof. Sibghatullah Mujaddedi without closing the ranks of rival and mutual warring Mujahideen groups. It failed to bring peace to Afghanistan.

Javed Nasir's last tour de force was the Islamabad Accord of March 7, last, which he brokered, once again, together with Mr. Nawaz Sharif, in the final bid to resolve the Afghanistan imbroglio.

Consequent upon the dismissal of Nawaz Sharif's government, his ministers, principal advisers and others, too closely identified with the formulation of his policies lost their jobs. Javed Nasir also came into the eye of the storm.

He was retired on May 2, some six months prematurely. It is all in the game and need not be made much of. Just the same, the circumstance of his retirement carries a certain political touch and motivation that should not be allowed to affect armed forces retirement, promotions and transfers, as far as possible.

Calls for Pashtoon Province Continue

93AS0892E Karachi AMN in Urdu 13 May 93 p 8

[News Report: "Mahmood Achakzai: 'Struggle for a Pashtoon Province Will Continue; ISI Is Conspiring To Remove Me From the Scene; We Are Not Indian Agents.'"]

[Text] Quetta, 12 May (AMN News): Mahmood Khan Achakzai, leader of Pakhtoonkhwa Awami Milli Ittehad and former member of the national assembly, said that Interservices Intelligence (ISI) and Frontier Corps are conspiring to remove him and his family from the scene. Addressing a public gathering on occasion of the second national convention of the Pakhtoonkhwa Students Organization, Mahmood Achakzai accused the ISI and youth belonging to the militia of direct involvement in the recent fighting in Tahsil Gulistan. He said that the ISI and the generals [sic] might succeed in assassinating him and other party leaders but they would not succeed in getting rid of thousands of sincere workers struggling for the rights of the Pashtoon people. He denied ISI's accusation that he and his party were working for India and asked that if they were foreign agents, then why would their elders have fought against the British for the rights of the downtrodden Pashtoon people. Achakzai announced that his party would continue its efforts to unite the Pashtoon for the establishment of a Pashtoon province in Pakistan. He said that he would not allow any force to divide Afghanistan nor would he accept the Durand Line which imperialism had drawn in order to divide the Afghan nation. He criticised those who asked for the repatriation of Afghans and said that Afghans could be ousted from Punjab, Sindh and Baluch areas but that no one had the right to demand the repatriation of Afghans from Pashtoon areas. He opposed the 8th amendment and the dissolution of the national assembly and announced that his party would support democratic elements and the supremacy of the parliament.

Senator Pal Speaks on Corruption, Accountability

93AS0846E Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
8 May 93 p 7

[Article by Zakiuddin Pal, a former Judge of the Lahore High Court and Member of the Working Committee of the Pakistan Muslim League: "Politicians Have Played No Role To Check Corruption. These interviews were conducted by our Lahore Bureau"; place and date not given; boldface words as published]

[Text]

Accountability

Q: It is believed that accountability is an integral part of democracy and we have suffered instability for lack of it. Those in authority at the political level were hardly subjected to it. The country was disintegrated yet some of those responsible for it were given state burials. Constitution was abrogated, democratic institutions subverted and the country's security put at stake but no one was made answerable for these crimes. Do we have no accountability culture?

A: Unfortunately there has been no concept of accountability in our country since its inception, particularly after the death of Quaid-e-Azam the father of the nation. There is no doubt that accountability is an integral part of democracy. If by process of law corrupt and undesirable persons are regularly brought to book and exposed to public opinion, then our legislatures and other institutions may ultimately get rid of them. Since we have not adopted any such measures so far, corrupt and undesirable persons get themselves elected by spending huge amounts of money which they can easily afford. It is evident that if the country is in the hands of the corrupt and power-hungry persons, then abrogation of the constitution, violation of the democratic process, security of the country will have little value or importance for such elements. They are only interested in keeping themselves at the helm of affairs so as to exploit their position and indulge in more and more corruption.

Q: What role have the representative constitutional institutions played in initiating the process of accountability? Were they lacking in providing a mechanism for a continuous process to take its course?

A: It is really sad that the so-called representative constitutional institutions have not played any real role in checking the spread of corruption nor has any effective mechanism been evolved so far in this respect. It is true that some special courts tribunals have been set up to try the criminals/corrupt persons but since the legal process is slow and inadequate, such persons usually are not punished.

It is true that the courts have jurisdiction to try and punish corrupt persons but the question is whether such persons can be proceeded against and whether they are brought before the concerned courts for trial. Normally it does not happen. Since such people are influential, they don't allow any such agency to come near them.

When the highest in authority in the country gives full protection to the corrupt and undesirable persons and accommodate them even in the Cabinet, then the question of providing a mechanism for a continuous process to take its course is insignificant. It is high time that such corrupt undesirable persons, whatever political party they may belong to, were discouraged at every level.

Q: How should constitutional office holders (President, Prime Minister, Governors, Chief Ministers, etc) be made accountable for their acts of commission or omission. Are the existing constitutional and other legal provisions inadequate to bring them to book? Is the immunity from the process of courts under Article 248 of the Constitution justified?

A: I am of the view that nobody, whether President, Prime Minister, Governors, Chief Ministers etc is above the law. Even according to the law laid down by the Supreme Court any malafide action even on the part of the President or Prime Minister can be challenged in the court of law. The said office holders will not be exempt from the process of law if they have acted malafidely. For instance, Mohtarama Benazir Bhutto said that the Government of Ghulam Haider Wyne had been toppled on account of the biggest ever horse trading held in Asian countries. If it is proved that such malafide action was done with the connivance of aforesaid office holders, then such office holders will not be exempt from the process of law irrespective of the fact that they are given exemption by the Constitution. The Constitution itself does not exempt any office holder whether big or small from the process of law if his action in the performance of his duties is malafide.

Q: Are there any sacred cows who enjoy virtual protection against accountability such as members of the superior courts, key bureaucrats and military generals, though some of them have been responsible for adverse changes in the course of our history, directly or indirectly?

A: The "sacred cows" as mentioned in para 4 of the questionnaire cannot enjoy virtual protection under the law against accountability. The main question which always arises in the case of such persons is whether their action or decisions are malafide. Such actions then cannot be given protection or condoned in any event.

Q: Why was Article 6 (high treason for abrogation, subversion or violation of the Constitution) or Article 47 (impeachment of President) or Article 209 (enquiry of misconduct of Judges by Supreme Judicial Council) never invoked? Why did not any incumbent come within the mischief of these constitutional provisions for violating the Constitution?

A: Necessary action in the past has been taken against some members of the superior judiciary by the Supreme Judicial Council. It is not true that any action was never taken of alleged misconduct of judges by the Supreme Judicial Council.

Q: Our superior courts have at times legalised under the so-called law of necessity, the action of usurpers of power resulting in the repeated imposition of Martial Laws. The courts even authorised them to change the Constitution itself to suit their designs. Do such legal covers run counter to accountability?

A: The action of usurpers of power in this country should not be and cannot be legalised even under the law of necessity. It is however not true that the superior courts have authorised the usurpers to amend the Constitution according to their wishes. It is however true that such authority was granted by the supreme court only to run the day-to-day administration, which later on was dishonestly interpreted as if such authority was for the purpose of amending the Constitution itself.

Q: Should the elected public representatives—Senators, MNAs [Member of National Assembly], MPAs [Member of Provincial Assembly], Councillors—be made directly answerable to their constituents for their acts of commission and omission and for violating their mandate? What should be the mechanism enabling the constituents to exercise their will and recall them if need be?

A: The elected representatives are always answerable to their constituents for their acts of commission or omission. However, under the present system the constituents can take their representative to task only at the time of the next elections.

Q: Should the provisions of Political Parties Act be made more stringent? In the event of guilt having been proved (crossing of floor, horse-trading, etc) should a mere disqualification for a limited period be punitive enough for abusing a public office? Is periodic electoral process a substitute for accountability?

A: The provisions of the Political Parties Act no doubt should be made more stringent in the case of guilt having been proved against the elected representatives for crossing of floor, horse trading, etc. Their disqualification for a limited period is certainly not sufficient to offset the effect of their guilt. Such persons should be permanently disqualified from holding any public office or from being elected to any legislature or public body. Such stringent measures may prove to be healthy and sufficient to eradicate the evil which is so rampant in our society.

Q: It is true that the targets of accountability have largely been political adversaries. And actions under special laws like PARODA, EBDO [Elective Bodies Disqualification Order], or more recently, the current references were initiated only against the Opposition with political motivation or vindictiveness. Why was the law of references not invoked in 1988 against the Junejo Government though it was also dismissed on charges of corruption and inefficiency?

A: The dismissal of the Junejo Government in 1988 was not based on bonafides. It was a malafide act of the late General Zia-ul-Haq. The late Mohammad Khan Junejo

was apparently a neat and clean person in all aspects of life and that was why no reference could be filed against him. No doubt the charge of corruption and inefficiency were levelled against him but they being vague were not considered sufficient by the Supreme Court of Pakistan. As everybody knows it was held by the Supreme Court that the Junejo Government could not be dismissed on the basis of the charges levelled against him.

Begum Nawaz' Allegation of Assassination Detailed

93AS0862D Lahore THE FRIDAY TIMES in English
21 Apr 93 p 5

[Text] "I have earlier suggested that the sudden demise of my late husband Gen Asif Nawaz was not natural. Today I wish to elaborate.

"My late husband Gen Asif Nawaz was a very healthy person. He never suffered from any blood pressure nor from any heart trouble of any sort. He was early to bed and early to rise. He exercised regularly. His diet was simple. He neither smoked nor was in the habit of drinking. His health was enviable.

"He fell ill on 24th November 1992. Food poisoning was diagnosed. But his symptoms did not conform to this diagnosis. He tried to vomit but couldn't. Nor could he defecate. He complained of pain in his calves. His head was heavy. His face was puffed and he had a sore throat for days.

"Expert medical opinion collected by us reinforce our suspicion that his death occurred on account of the administration of such poison which shrinks and narrows the veins thereby leading to death within 3 months which appears as a result of a heart attack. Gen Asif's death came about in 45 days after his mysterious illness on the 24th of November, 1992.

"As a life partner of the late General, I can confirm from experience that he was a most truthful, honest and sincere human being who hated lies, hypocrisy, dishonesty and selfishness. He was outspoken and straightforward; he could not be cowed down or bought out. I have no hesitation in saying that these brilliant qualities character made him a forbidding hurdle in the path of some self seekers in high places of authority and rule.

"As a brave and professional soldier he was determined to keep out of politics. He always insisted that the Armed Forces of Pakistan should not be roped into politics nor allowed to be used as an instrument of the political objectives of anyone.

"I used to receive anonymous letters pointing towards events to come. These warned of the danger to his life. Whenever I tried to plead with him or warn him he always said that he was afraid of no one but God and that if he were to lose his life in the honest service of his obligations it would be Shahadat (Martyrdom) for him, something which every Muslim soldier considers to be

the pinnacle of honour. It was because of such sentiments and faith that he ignored so many and forgave so many.

"He was told by a reliable service that Chaudhry Nisar had boasted of making a horrible example of him in the same manner of Gen Gul Hassan. Upon this, he replied that "I am only a soldier who desires to return to his native village after his service is over, one way or the other." His desire to retire to his native village was deep and passionate. Who knew that this longing would be fulfilled so soon and in such an unusual way. He has now settled down in his native soil forever.

"Another reliable source told him that Brig Imtiaz of the Intelligence Bureau [IB] had said that if President Ghulam Ishaq was not on Gen Asif Nawaz's side, he [Brig Imtiaz] could send an ordinary policeman to strip him [Gen Asif] of his uniform. Upon hearing this, the late General had smiled and remarked: "Such a person who could strip him of his uniform hadn't been born."

"The views of my husband on politics were those of a soldier. He considered the safety and security of Pakistan as a most sacred objective. He felt that the constitution's supremacy should be firmly upheld. He respected both the governments of the day and the opposition. He believed in the necessity of a free press and an impartial judiciary. He was allergic to taking part in political games. Nor was he prepared to allow anyone an out-of-place and undue interference in the professional affairs of the Army. These values of his character did not find favour with some of those in power and he had to pay for it with his dear life.

"A reliable person told him that he had warned Chaudhry Nisar not to get on the wrong side of the General for the sake of his relatives who were due for promotion, if not for the sake of the nation and the country. According to our source, Ch Nisar replied that when that time came, the scenario would have totally changed.

"He respected the President as the President and the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces. He respected the Prime Minister as the Prime Minister. He respected the Leader of the Opposition as per her constitutional role. He did not wish to side with anybody unduly. Such virtues also annoyed those who preferred to put their personal gains above those of the nation.

"In view to these related events and happenings, I am sure that his unnatural death was a political assassination. The late General Asif Nawaz preferred Shahadat (Martyrdom) to compromising on his principles. He always put the interests of the country first. He could not be cowed down or bought out.

"I find no peace in the search for truth that his death was a political assassination until I read the Quranic Verses which say: "And those who lay down their lives in the name of God are not dead but alive, only you lack comprehension of their (new) existence."

"While making this statement I am fully aware that those who got him assassinated could also take my life. But as the wife of a brave Muslim soldier I am not afraid. Under these circumstances I have been left with no choice but to fulfill the legal obligation of registering an F.I.R. [First Information Report] as required, after consultations with lawyers, so that the people of Pakistan and the world should come to know the truth. If I am hindered in doing so, in any manner or by any devices, I shall have no option but to consider myself in the presence of God and present my case in the court of the people of Pakistan.

"God bless you all and be with you. Khuda Hafiz"

[Boxed item]

The Facts of the Case

The day Gen Asif Nawaz died, Begum Nuzhat Nawaz was convinced he had been assassinated. She wept and said as much to close relatives and friends. But she was advised not to air her beliefs in public.

Over time, however, she became increasingly outspoken in private conversations. A couple of weeks ago, family members aired their views cautiously to some journalists. A few stories appeared in the press, speculating about the causes of Gen Asif Nawaz's death.

Members of the family also reportedly met with President Ishaq and COAS [Chief of Army Staff] Gen Abdul Waheed last month to air their grievances and suspicions. Both the President and the COAS reportedly heard them out but made no commitments to order any formal enquiries. Nor did the authorities entertain the family's request to hand over the late Gen Asif Nawaz's medical record.

Some weeks ago, family members decided to hire private security guards to protect Gen Asif Nawaz's grave in Chakri. They were afraid the body might be tampered with.

In early April, Begum Asif Nawaz took the brave and bold decision to go public with her complaint. She did not inform GHQ of her decision. In fact, the Inter Services Public Relations [ISPR] department only came to know of her press conference three hours after it concluded before a select group of journalists at the Pearl Continental Hotel in Rawalpindi on April 11.

Journalists were informed of the press conference only hours before it was scheduled in the family's rooms at the hotel. Only Begum Nuzhat Nawaz, her daughter Mrs Anila Shah, her son-in-law Dr Salmaan Shah and her son Shahid Nawaz were present on the occasion.

Begum Nawaz read out a handwritten Urdu statement. She broke down and wept at one stage. After she'd finished, Shahid Nawaz read out a rough English translation for the benefit of the BBC. No questions were allowed. Since copies of the statement weren't at hand,

photocopies were quickly made by the journalists in order to ensure that no misreporting took place.

Later, Shahid Nawaz said that an FIR would be lodged within the week. He refused to say who would be named in it. Begum Nawaz and Mr and Mrs Shah flew to Lahore in the evening while Shahid Nawaz drove down in his car. "We're not taking the risk of all travelling together," he explained.

A reading of Begum Nawaz's statement shows:

(1) Chaudhry Nizar Ali Khan and Brig Imtiaz Ahmad are said to have threatened Gen Asif Nawaz of dismissal.

(2) A finger is pointed at other un-named persons in high authority for whom Gen Asif Nawaz had become "a hurdle" because he refused to take sides in politics.

(3) Emphasis is put on the excellent health of Gen Asif Nawaz, shedding doubt about the causes of his heart attack. [As a matter of fact, Gen Nawaz regularly worked out on his treadmill every morning and was fighting fit by all accounts.]

Unfortunately, the press has misreported or misrepresented a number of points. In actual fact, the position is that:

(1) No FIR has to date been filed with the police although Shahid Nawaz has said that one is expected within the week.

(2) No one has been directly named of plotting the assassination of Gen Asif Nawaz.

(3) The family did not act at the behest of the Pakistan army authorities. Nor have the army authorities established their own picket at the late Gen Asif Nawaz's grave. In fact, the army has not yet commissioned any enquiry of its own into the matter.

(4) The family welcomes the Commission of Enquiry under a judge of the High court set up by the government on April 12th. Begum Nawaz says she is ready to appear before it.

[end boxed item]

'Real Power' Said To Lie Exclusively With President
93AS0869D Lahore THE FRIDAY TIMES in English
5 May 93 p 23

[Article by Salamat Ali: "Presidential Putsch"]

[Text] Pakistan has been the curtail fall on the third act of a political tragic-comedy which began in the mid-1980s. In the late evening of 18 April, a solemn-looking President Ghulam Ishaq Khan dismissed the elected Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif.

Act I ended five years ago when an earlier strongman, then president Zia-ul Haq, had sacked his Prime Minister M. K. Junejo. Today's cast of characters, though, recalls those who figured in Act II of the drama. It was the same Ishaq Khan who abruptly intervened in the political process in late 1990 when he sent then prime minister Benazir Bhutto packing.

In all three cases the incumbent president charged the government with corruption, nepotism and maladministration and promised fresh elections. The presidential actions, though strictly in accordance with the constitution, have been described by many observers as administrative or constitutional coups. More significant, each sacking of an elected government has plunged the country's politics into deeper turmoil.

On 19 April, the day after he was removed, Sharif and his allies applied to the Punjab High Court to have the dismissal declared unconstitutional. A defiant Sharif also threatened mass agitation, declaring that he would "fight this out in every nook and cranny of the country." A day later, Sharif's followers organised a strike in Punjab, their provincial power base. While the strike was only partially successful, it marked the beginning of confrontational politics among rival parties.

If he persists in challenging his dismissal, Sharif will be taking on not only the president but also the interim government named to succeed him and to conduct elections by 14 July. The president has appointed Balakh Sher Mazari, a dissident leader from Sharif's ousted coalition regime as the caretaker prime minister.

After taking over power, Mazari declared that his task was to hold elections, restore normal working of the administration and heal the wounds inflicted by the "misdeeds" of the past regime. He also pledged to end political "confrontation, corruption and deceit."

In effect, Mazari was echoing the president's charges for dismissing Sharif. Yet, while assuming the mantle of a "government of national unity," Mazari and his colleagues did not rule out including Sharif's followers in the caretaker government, an offer Sharif is unlikely to accept.

While it is not unknown in Pakistani politics for rivals to become allies, the struggle between Sharif and Ishaq Khan is too recent to be patched up easily. Although Sharif began by working closely with the president after becoming prime minister less than three years ago with tacit backing of the army, the two fell out over the crucial issue of sharing power.

Independent of constitutional formulas, real power in Pakistan is shared by a so-called ruling troika consisting of the president, prime minister and the military.

Former strongman Zia, an army general-turned-president, amended the constitution in 1985 to give himself, as president, overriding powers to appoint and dismiss the prime minister, the army chief and

senior members of the judiciary. Zia's move also allowed him to dissolve the legislature. The resulting shift from a parliamentary system of government to one based on an executive presidency has led to endless tussles between the president and prime minister ever since.

According to Ishaq Khan, his differences with Sharif started over the appointment of general Asif Nawaz Janjua as the army chief last year and were exacerbated by tensions between Sharif and the army over the prime minister's interference in military affairs. Relations worsened further when Gen Abdul Wahid was appointed to succeed Janjua early this year—a choice not favoured by Sharif.

The president said that the point of no return was reached when Sharif began openly denouncing the presidency in February. During his tenure Sharif had introduced liberal economic reforms. Emboldened by his successes in these areas Sharif felt he could get the National Assembly to amend the constitution so as to deprive the president of the special powers to dismiss the prime minister.

But he ignored the fact that his own ruling coalition was not united while the incumbent president was an experienced and wily politician. As Sharif's attacks against Ishaq Khan mounted, the latter's followers began exploiting the factional rivalries within Sharif's Muslim League party.

Beginning late last month, the president's loyalists succeeded in bringing about the resignation of nearly one-third of Sharif's cabinet. Although Sharif's camp tried to assuage the president by adopting him as their candidate for the presidential election due later this year, Ishaq Khan remained unreconciled.

Sharif had also assumed that in his bid to but the president down to size, the opposition led by Bhutto's PPP [Pakistan People's Party]—which had long resented the special presidential powers—would come to his help. Bhutto who had been convalescing since early this year after giving birth to her third child in London, chose to wait out the battle between Sharif and Ishaq Khan.

Returning home on the eve of Sharif's dismissal, she announced that her party would not support Sharif's proposed amendments to the constitution. While not upholding the presidential powers, Bhutto declared that the political impasse should be solved by fresh elections.

In addition to constitutional issues, other more murky and personal elements may have precipitated the action against Sharif. In March Janjua's widow alleged that her husband had been poisoned to death in a conspiracy involving Brig Imtiaz, the intelligence chief and Sharif's top adviser Nisar Ali.

The president, who had earlier advised the prime minister to get rid of these two aides, asked Sharif to investigate the widow's allegation. Sharif did not follow through, or so the president implied in his 18 April announcement. Analysts

believe this case is likely to be pursued by the interim regime, adding to Sharif's difficulties.

Sharif's Muslim League will go into the election campaign with the party hopelessly split and without any guarantee that its erstwhile coalition partners will be of any help. In Sharif's political bastion of Punjab, his party's provincial legislators have begun a move to get rid of their chief minister—a Sharif loyalist—which could further discredit Sharif's party.

Likewise, the PPP's credibility has also been hurt somewhat—though Sharif's ouster has helped it to gain the upper hand, at least for the time being. The PPP had all along been opposed to the presidential powers, with Bhutto personally suffering under those in 1990. Her support for Sharif's sacking under similar conditions now could be seen as political expediency by the PPP's allies on the Left. The next act of Pakistan's political drama is likely to see some prominent power seekers fall, while the dominant role of the army remains intact.

FRIDAY TIMES Alleges Sharif Government Misusing Funds

Raiding Welfare Funds

93AS0893A Lahore THE FRIDAY TIMES in English
19 May 93 p 7

[Text] Although, under law, the Prime Minister's "Discretionary Grant" amounts to a total of Rs 800,000 per annum (or Rs 1.60 million from 1991-93), Mr Nawaz Sharif actually spent Rs 632.90 million in two years giving out handouts to favourite politicians and "development projects" at his "discretion".

Mr Sharif did this by dipping into the grants of Ministries, especially the Tameer i Watan Programme (Rs 303.35 million) and the Pakistan Bail-ul-Mal scheme (Rs 200 million). Among others, Mr Gohar Ayub, the Speaker of the National Assembly, was the recipient of special allowances and favours for "developing" his home constituency.

In so doing, Mr Sharif not only violated the provisions and procedures laid down by the cabinet for the Tameer-i-Watan and the Bait-ul-Maal programmes, he also violated the provisions of the Prime Minister's Salary, Allowances and Privileges Act, 1985. This is a criminal offense which attracts provisions of the Pakistan Penal Order 17 of 1977.

During his tenure as prime minister, Mr Nawaz Sharif took personal control of large sums of money from the allocations of the PM's secretariat and other Ministries and Divisions over and above his "discretionary grant" and spent these to promote certain vested interests. He also interfered in the provincial sphere (especially in the Punjab which received nearly 80 per cent of all his "discretionary spending") through verbal and written orders

which created budgetary imbalances and forced a number of Ministries and Divisions to seek supplementary grants to meet their requirements.

The ex-PM's favourite raiding grounds were allocations under the PM's Contingent Grant, the Tameer i Watan programme and the Pakistan Bait-ul Maal.

The biggest source of funds for his discretionary spending was the Tameer i Watan programme. This programme had been approved by the cabinet in 1991. Its purpose was to assist development all over Pakistan, including Islamabad, FATA [Federally Administered Tribal Areas], AJK [Azad Jammu and Kashmir] and the Northern Areas. Funds were to be distributed in accordance with detailed formulae drawn up by the Planning and Development Division of the Government of Pakistan and projects were supposed to be drawn up by the respective counterpart Divisions in the provinces. In this connection, the Ministry of Local Government in each province was supposed to take responsibility in executing the projects.

However, Mr Sharif, in contravention of his "discretionary powers" as allowed under law, browbeat the cabinet to give him 10 per cent of the total funds allocated by the Federal Government in each of these programmes, to be used "at his discretion".

The following amounts were consequently "allocated" to the "PM's discretionary fund" from the Tameer i Watan programme: Rs 11.75 millions in 1991-92 and Rs 291.60 millions in 1992-93. (Total Rs 303.35 millions.)

But it seems, even this amount of Rs 303.35 millions wasn't sufficient to satisfy Mr Sharif's penchant for discretionary spending. He actually ended up dishing out Rs 527.2 million on 54 discretionary schemes in the Punjab (Rs 496.2 million), 3 discretionary schemes in the NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] (Rs 14 million), 2 discretionary schemes in Sindh (Rs 11 million), 1 discretionary scheme in Balochistan (Rs 5 million) and 1 discretionary scheme in the Northern Areas (Rs 1 million).

Incidentally, of the Rs 14 million spent in the NWFP from his "discretionary fund", Mr Sharif spent Rs 10 million on schemes recommended by the Speaker of the National Assembly, Mr Gohar Ayub.

The Bait ul Maal scheme was another source raided by Mr Sharif to increase his discretionary fund. This was particularly unforgivable in view of the provisions of law under which this scheme had been set up by the National Assembly of Pakistan on 31 October 1991 under the Special Education and Social Welfare division with a provision of Rs 1,000 million for 1991-92.

Under the Act of Parliament, the Bait ul Maal or Welfare Fund was meant to provide "assistance to destitute and needy widows, orphans, invalid, infirm and other such persons and thereby save them from hardship and suffering and to enable them to lead an honourable life in society". Yet Mr Sharif calmly subtracted a sum of Rs

200 million from the Bait ul Maal grant of Rs 1,000 million even before the funds had been transferred to the corporate body in Lahore.

For this purpose, a "personal" ledger account was opened with the Treasury. The amount was then withdrawn from this account and placed in another personal ledger account in the National Bank of Pakistan at the PM Secretariat Branch. Although the grant belonged to the Special Education and Social Welfare Division, it was in fact operated by two officers of the PM's secretariat.

One of the practices followed by Mr Sharif for the disbursement of this discretionary fund of Rs 200 million was to gather "needy" persons in Islamabad and personally give out hand-outs. In order to bring such persons all the way to Islamabad, they were also given TA allowances!

Gohar Ayub Said Involved

93AS0893B Lahore THE FRIDAY TIMES in English
19 May 93 p 7

[Text] It is perfectly understandable why Mr Gohar Ayub is fighting to restore deposed PM Nawaz Sharif back to Islamabad: Mr Ayub was a recipient not only of his "share" of the rural electrification quota of the federal government as an MNA [Member of National Assembly], he was also given a share of the quota of Mr Nawaz Sharif, Mr Shahbaz Sharif, Mr Islam Nabi, etc., all MNAs with urban constituencies.

The cost of rural electrification is shared equally between the Federal and Provincial governments. During 1991-92, the federal government allocated a sum of Rs 2,697 million and in 1992-93 a sum of Rs 2,070 million for this programme. It is the responsibility of WAPDA [Water and Power Development Authority] to recommend appropriate villages for electrification according to criteria laid down by the World Bank and the OECF [Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund].

In May 1991, the cabinet decided to give each MNA and Senator Rs 3 million for electrification under the Rural Electrification Programme. However, the following additional allocations were made to some MNAs/Senators of the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] in the last two years:

1991-92: 74 MNAs were given an additional Rs 3 million each; 1 Senator was given an additional Rs 2 million, 88 MNAs were given an additional Rs 2 million while 72 Senators were given an additional Rs 2 million each.

In 1992-93, 77 MNAs were allocated an additional Rs 2 million each while 1 Senator was handed out Rs 2 million additionally.

Mr Gohar Ayub's own quota for rural electrification amounted to 5 villages in 1991-92. However, as PM, Mr Nawaz Sharif gave him an additional 22 villages out of his "discretionary" quota, while the Federal Minister of Water & Power (first Mr Sartaj Aziz and then Jam

Yousaf Ali) gave him 14 villages, Mr Shahbaz Sharif gave him 5 villages and Mr Islam Nabi gave him 5 villages, making a total of 51 villages. Each quota is worth Rs 3 million, which means Mr Gohar Ayub received funds worth Rs 153 million in 1991-92 to "develop his constituency, NA-13".

In 1992-93, Mr Ayub received additional assistance from his benefactors to the tune of 11 villages, apart from the 5 in his own quota. Mr Nawaz Sharif, MNA, gave him 5 villages, Senator Malik Mohammad Hayat gave him 1 village, Jam Mashook Ali (Urban MNA) 1 village, Chaudry Sher Ali, MNA, 1 village and the Federal Minister for Water & Power 3 villages.

In two years, Mr Ayub therefore received almost six times his share of rural electrification funds from Mr Nawaz Sharif's government. No wonder he is a loyal supporter of the deposed Prime Minister.

Wyne Said Embezzler

93AS0893C Lahore THE FRIDAY TIMES in English
12 May 93 p 8

[Text] Ousted Punjab Chief Minister Ghulam Haider Wyne walked away from the government with over Rs 200 million from the provincial exchequer which he had channelled into two non-government organisations (NGOs). And there is nothing that the law can do about it, unless it can prove that the signatures of the then Secretary Housing were forged on certain documents at the behest of the Chief Minister.

Mr Wyne formed two NGOs through an act of the Punjab Assembly in 1991—the Nazria Pakistan Trust (NPT) and the Pakistan Movement Workers' Trust (PMWT). Both NGOs were delinked from the government and designed to be managed by a group of trustees. The trustees were all Pakistan Muslim League loyalists headed by Mr Wyne himself.

The NPT was given grants in excess of Rs 70 million in addition to an eight kanal plot in Jauhar Town, Lahore, for an office. The PMWT building is still being built with the help of government grants exceeding Rs 12.10 million.

The ostensible objectives of PMWT include giving financial assistance to "workers of the Pakistan movement" and provision of residential plots to them.

The NPT is supposed to host activities related to the elusive "Ideology of Pakistan" or Mr Wyne's version of it. It will have 42 wings for discussions of problems relating to labour, students, media, economics etc. The NPT complex also includes a printing press.

All this "patriotic" activity actually adds up to "financing partisan activities with public funds", says a detailed report on this issue by Prometheus in The Frontier Post of Lahore.

Eyebrows have been raised on the manner of funding of the two NGOs. Mr Wyne, as Chairman of the NPT, requested Mr Wyne, Chairman Lahore Development Authority (LDA), to allot land to the NPT. Mr Wyne, as Chairman LDA, had the rates of the plot "approved" from Mr Wyne, the Chief Minister of Punjab. Then Mr Wyne, as Chairman NPT, requested Mr Wyne, the Chief Minister, to give grant-in-aid to the NPT so that he could pay Mr Wyne, the chairman of LDA.

The rates charged were Rs 50,000 per kanal instead of Rs 500,000, considering the project was for such a noble purpose. These were approved under the signature of the then Secretary Housing, Mr Anwar Kabir Sheikh. However, Mr Sheikh, who is one of the most honest civil servants around, cannot recall ever having signed such an approval document. So they must have been forged.

The modus operandi was repeated with minor adjustments in the case of the Pakistan Movement Workers' Trust as well.

The NPT's permanent trustees include Messrs Wyne, Shehbaz Sharif, Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain, Shahid Mehdi Naseem, Ghulam Dastgir Khan, Lt-Gen (Retd) Majeed Malik, Mian Abdul Sattar, Khawaja Riaz Mahmood, S. M. Bashir, Majeed Nizami, Justice (Retd) Zakiuddin Pal, Makhtar Masud etc.

The PMWT trustees include Messrs Wyne, Justice (Retd) Zakiuddin Pal, Dr Safdar Mahmood, Majeed Nizami and Dr Mohammad Arif.

All trustees are attached with the two NGOs in their personal capacity. Most are members of the Muslim League or were in the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] government. Apart from some government officials, the chief editor of Nawa-i-Waqt/Nation is also on the panel. This means that a change of government in the province will not affect the fortunes of both Trusts. Mr Wyne is in charge of two huge buildings in addition to millions of rupees which he can spend at his own sweet will. All expenses to be made by the NGOs are subject only to the approval of the Board of Trustees with no external auditing.

Can anything be done about it? Not unless the new government can prove that the signatures of the then Secretary Housing were indeed forged on certain documents.

100 Million Rupees Stolen

93AS0893D Lahore THE FRIDAY TIMES in English
12 May 93 p 8

[Text] According to a story in the dailies Pakistan and Mussawat, a racket involving the sale and distribution of 500 plots of LDA [Lahore Development Authority] land in Lahore allegedly by the Sharif Brothers has been uncovered. These plots, of 10 marlas, 1 kanal and 2 kanals each, in various residential LDA schemes were often allotted to fictitious people at rock bottom prices

and then sold in the market at prevailing rates. In this fashion, says the report, the Sharif brothers allegedly made a cool Rs 10 crores.

The story alleges that even bogus national identity cards were used for the purpose of transferring land. Some of the ID cards had previously been used in the 1990 elections to cast bogus votes. When the names on the ID cards were checked, it was found that there were no persons by those names.

A number of plots were also allotted to civil and military officers, elected representatives and judges of the superior courts. Most of the allottees are alleged to have furnished false affidavits to the effect that they did not own any other plots in their own names earlier. Later, these false affidavits were kept by the Sharifs to blackmail the recipients of plots to do their bidding.

A group of journalists, who was assigned the task of assassinating the characters of PPP [Pakistan People's Party] leaders, especially Benazir Bhutto and Nusrat Bhutto, was also the recipient of the power and patronage of the Sharifs. Among these, the notable ones are: Mr Anwar Kidwai (Chief reporter, Nawa-i-Waqt), Mr Mujibur Rahman Shami (Editor, Weekly Zindagi), Mr Athar Masood (former Editor, Jang), Mr Pervez Bashir (Senior Reporter, Jang), Mr Asadullah Ghalib (Asst Editor, Nawa-i-Waqt), Mr Sadaat Khayali (Editor, Mashriq), Mr Zia Shahid (Editor, Khabrain), and Mr Nazeer Nagi (Columnist, Nawa-i-Waqt).

In another such racket, one day before Ms Bhutto's government was ousted in 1990, as chief minister Punjab Mr Nawaz Sharif is alleged to have allotted hundreds of plots to undeserving people by dating them retroactively. These were all LDA plots in Jauhar Town in Lahore. Mr Ghulam Haider Wyne was also allotted a plot. But the dervish chief minister returned it, with thanks.

Mr Nawaz Sharif is also alleged to have sanctioned the building of a number of plazas in the commercial areas of Lahore at his discretion. Most of these, says the report, belong to friends of the Sharif brothers. The LDA quietly looked the other way when many such builders included the parking space in their building design.

Mr Sharif is alleged to have gone outside his chief ministerial powers when his allotments far exceeded his discretionary quota of 10 per cent.

The Sharifs also corrupted many God-fearing mullahs, say the reports. He gave a 2 kanal plot to Maulana Mufti Mohammad Hussain Naeemi. Maulana Naeemi was at one time a negotiator in the financial tussles among members of the Sharif clan. According to LDA rules, he couldn't sell the plot without first having built a house on it. But the good Maulana was awarded a non-encumbrance certificate by the gracious Mr Sharif. Similarly, the Imam of the Badshahi mosque, Maulana Abdul Qadir Azad, was allotted several plots. Readers may recall that Maulana Azad is the same fellow who once gave a fatwa against Benazir Bhutto saying that a

woman cannot rule a Muslim country. He is also remembered for keenly shaking Princess Diana's hand when she visited Lahore's Badshahi mosque last year.

In yet another plot scam, the Sharif brothers are alleged to have converted LDA land meant for schools, hospitals, mosques and parks into residential spaces to fill the coffers of the LDA in order to make up for having given away large spaces to their cronies earlier.

Watch this space for new scams.

Editorial Urges National Reconciliation, Fresh Elections

BK0507092793 Islamabad *THE NATION* in English 5 Jul 93 p 6

[Editorial: "Fresh Elections"]

[Text] The Defence Ministry and ISPR's [Inter-Service Public Relations] clarifications regarding the meeting between COAS [chief of Army Staff] General Waheed and Nawaz Sharif do not confirm or deny whether a proposal for fresh elections was discussed. However, what is positive about these clarifications is that they reaffirm the Army's policy of staying away from politics and its neutrality in the current crisis. Having said that, it is undeniable that the Army, like all other sections of society, is concerned about the direction events have taken in the past few weeks. That concern is valid, but the history of the failure to maintain civilian supremacy over the armed forces in our country has so sensitised us that it comes as a relief to learn that the Army has denied having insisted on any deadline or particular solution to the crisis. Some newspaper reports have it that the Army would like the deadlock between the President and the PM broken. Whether this is true or not, it does not appear a realistic hope. The fact remains that the broad consensus that elections are the best option to get the country out of the slough of despond in which it is labouring is beset with the difficulty, to which the PM has referred, that as long as the President is in office, there are serious doubts whether fair and free elections, even under neutral caretaker governments, can be held. If any proof of this increasingly self-evident truth is required, one has merely to glance over the track record of the President's moves since April 18th this year. That track record reinforces the notion that his role is clearly that of a spoiler, a role unhelpful to any resolution of the crisis. In this sense the reported willingness of the Prime Minister to consider mid-term polls provided the President's less than benign presence can no longer influence developments, is understandable.

However, the Prime Minister can be considered to have been remiss in not pursuing a dialogue with the political forces, and particularly Ms Benazir Bhutto, with the urgency it deserved in the prevailing circumstances. It may not be too late even now, and the Prime Minister would be well served by shedding any considerations of ego and inviting Benazir for direct one-to-one talks. This would cut out the ineffective lower level confabulations

which have signally failed to make progress, as well as bringing on board that section of the Opposition which has a stake in the parliamentary democratic system, in the process isolating those out-of-a-job politicians whose interests seem to be only served by latching onto the coattails of the President or by issuing irresponsible calls for a third force intervention. The terms of endearment between the Leaders of the House and the Opposition could, given goodwill on both sides, meet the genuine complaints the Opposition has been harping on all this time, while conceding the right of an incumbent Prime Minister to have the last word on the timing of the mid-term polls. Given the President's role these polls [words indistinct] has either resigned and been replaced by Chairman Wasim Sajjad as Acting President until the election of a new President, or has eked out the remainder of his term and been put out to pasture. If the President had the interests of the country dear to his heart, he would have announced either his resignation, or his withdrawal from the Presidential race by the end of the year, in unequivocal terms by now, to pave the way for a national reconciliation of the political forces preparatory to fresh elections.

Editorial Urges Public To Join Fight Against Drug Abuse

BK2706120393 Islamabad *THE PAKISTAN TIMES* in English 27 Jun 93 p 6

[Editorial: "Combating Drug Abuse"]

[Text] In his message on the International Day against drug abuse and illicit trafficking, observed yesterday, Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif said the Government had declared the year 1993 as the year of 'jihad' against drugs and social evils. He reiterated his firm resolve and commitment to fight the menace of drug abuse and drug trafficking with greater vigour and determination. The Prime Minister said the scourge had transcended national boundaries and the world was aghast at the havoc wrought by drug abuse on the health, economic, social and moral fabric of societies and the danger to the democratic and civilised institutions from the organised syndicates of worldwide gangs of narcotics traffickers. "The Government of Pakistan has been alive to these dangers," he added.

Unfortunately, drug abuse in Pakistan has assumed alarming proportions. In 1979 there was hardly any heroin addict in the country. It was only a year later that out of the 124,000 detected drug abusers, the number of heroin addicts turned out to be 5000. Statistics reveal that today we have 2.5 million drug addicts in the country out of whom as many as 1.5 million are using heroin. This is a stupendous figure and a cause of great concern for the nation. The Government, on its part, has adopted various measures to deal with the drug menace and succeeded in bringing down the acreage of poppy cultivation by 20 to 30 per cent, and closing down most of the heroin factories in the tribal areas. However, the huge profits accruing from the billion-dollar trade,

coupled with the corruption among those detailed to control it, have hampered the campaign against this menace. Stronger laws are needed in the country to deal with the drug users, dealers and traffickers. With the economic power it has acquired through this illicit trade, the drug mafia is violating the present laws with impunity. A bill was introduced in the Parliament early this year which provides for capital punishment for drug trafficking. This needs to be implemented. Many countries in the world are already administering death penalty to the criminals to eliminate this cancer from their societies and there is no reason why we should not be doing the same. Moreover, efforts should be made to reclaim those addicted to drugs. This could be possible by increasing the number of clinics and rehabilitation centres for the addicts. At present these are located only in the urban centres and are far too few in proportion to the number of those needing cure and care. However, it must be realised that fighting the demon of drugs is not the responsibility of the Government alone. The public has also to participate in this crusade to save themselves and their children from the dangers involved in the use of drugs. To have a drug-free society each one of us has to make an effort to protect those who use drugs and prevent others from taking up the lethal habit.

Commentary Warns PPP of President's Intentions

93AS0846C Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
27 Apr 93 p 7

[Article by Asir Ajmal: "Why Has BB Fallen Into Baba's Trap?"]

[Text] Recent events on the national political scene may seem puzzling on the surface - and these include the Nawaz-Ishaq split as well as the joining of the caretaker government by the PPP [Pakistan People's Party]—but all these parts point to the central factor which gives meanings to the whole picture. And this central factor is the re-election of Ghulam Ishaq, for a second five-year term.

If one were to look at the way the President is elected, one would immediately understand why all these games are being played. It would also answer questions behind the BB [Benazir Bhutto]-Baba alliance against Nawaz Sharif. But one thing it would not answer.

Why did BB fall into Baba's trap?

It is a trap because as the outcome of all this, the PPP runs the risk of losing its popular support base. It also faces the danger of being ditched after having been used by Ghulam Ishaq Khan, who is doing all this only to ensure his re-election. But the funny thing is that he has, through his retained men in the media, spread the disinformation that he is not interested in getting re-elected. Then why is he hesitating to dissolve the provincial assemblies?

Punjab Assembly

The President is elected by the simple majority of votes in the combined electoral college of the four provincial assemblies, the National Assembly and the Senate. In the Nawaz-Ishaq tussle, three provincial assemblies sided with Ishaq thus guaranteeing him a majority of votes from these provinces. Then came Punjab. The option to dissolve the Punjab Assembly will only be exercised if it fails to oust Wyne as this would imply that the largest provincial assembly would vote against the President.

So once the provinces have been lined up with puppet governments such as those of Muzaffar Shah in Sindh, Mir Afzal in NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] in Jamali in Balochistan, the fate of the Punjab Assembly would also depend on whether it sides with Ghulam Ishaq or not. Having thus assured his re-election, he would be ready to ditch the PPP once again.

And this time around it will be very difficult for the PPP to bounce back.

Even if the PPP were to win an overwhelming majority in the federal government, it would be unable to exercise its powers against the wishes of Ghulam Ishaq except in Islamabad. The party is also likely to lose its popular character because of the ill-will against Ghulam Ishaq Khan that is now so widespread. Benazir Bhutto has already lost a large number of supporters because of her support for the President who is seen as a pure self-seeker.

The PPP will have to live with Ghulam Ishaq as the President for the next five years while leaving the Eighth Amendment intact because of a strong opposition from the PML [Pakistan Muslim League] (Nawaz group) and the religious parties and also because of pressure from their allies—the PML (Chattha group) in Parliament. And citing the split between the provinces and the federation as the reason, Ghulam Ishaq Khan will again be able to dismiss the Benazir government at any moment.

Rigging

The PPP will also be unable to exercise any check on the rigging in the July 14 polls—rigging is an art of which the President is now rated as a super artist. The provincial governments will simply not take orders from BB. And having been in the caretaker government in the Centre, BB will not look good charging Baba with rigging, having become his junior partner in the game.

So what are the options available to the PPP? If the provincial assemblies are not dissolved within a week, it must separate itself from the federal government and join the agitation against Baba. Ghulam Ishaq Khan has made it clear through his actions that he is interested in nothing but his re-election. The PPP must see through this and beat him to his game. Otherwise the party will suffer, and so will the people of Pakistan.

Editorial Chides Benazir for Noncommitted Answers

93AS0846D Islamabad *THE MUSLIM* in English
8 May 93 p 6

[Article: "Benazir Uses Rhetoric To Parry Crucial Questions"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] There had been quite a bit of anticipation in the country as to how Ms Benazir's interview with the Cable News Network (CNN) on May 4 would turn out for those who relish such elation it could have been thrilling to see her being interviewed on an international cable network but for people who had expected much from her as a former prime minister, the show turned out to be a damp squib. She appeared to have completely lost the capacity to give direct answers to direct questions. For instance, asked what she thought the sacking of successive prime ministers by the President meant for democracy, she replied it reflected the political instability in Pakistan. What sort of an answer was that, pray? Mind you, no mention whatsoever of the President! Again, asked if the President would not pull off the dissolution act after the forthcoming polls, she again parried with the remark that there were no guarantees in life. Of course there are no ironclad guarantees in life but when the leader of the largest political party in the country joins a coalition, a 'national consensus' government if you please, she must seek certain assurances before committing herself and her party to joining any such setup. Ms Bhutto would have done well to talk about such assurances if they had been made but she gave the distinct impression of not wanting to annoy the all powerful President for fear it might jeopardise her chances of being installed as prime minister after the July 14 elections.

The interviewer could have been observing the norms of politeness when talking of the sacking of prime ministers by the President but omitting mention of the Eighth Amendment. It is an open secret that the woes of three governments in eight years have stemmed from this odious piece of "legislation." What, then, prevented Ms Bhutto from bringing it into her answer regarding what the sackings meant for democracy in Pakistan?

Talking about democracy, exactly what sort of democracy does she talk about when mentioning the word? In her own party, except at the district level, when has she ever had elections in the party? If the setup in her own party is not representative, what sort of representative government does she propose to bring in should she become prime minister again? She has said these elections in July were very important for the country. Why particularly these? Aren't all elections equally important? And if what is accomplished through elections continues to be undone with a stroke of the pen by a president rendered all powerful by the Eighth Amendment, what difference does it make how many elections are held?

Considered from any angle the CNN interview distinctly failed to convey the impression that the interviewee had been a Prime Minister of Pakistan or that she had anything concrete to offer should she occupy the slot

again, something about which she sounded very optimistic. On the peaceful nuclear programme of the country, she hedged furiously. When she was asked whether Pakistan should take the lead in signing the Nonproliferation Treaty, she said the time was inopportune for Pakistan to take a unilateral step. What prevented her for saying that the United States should insist on India doing the signing first? After all, they were the one's who exploded a nuclear device in 1974. We have still to do so, assuming we have the capacity. If this is the manner she gives answers to questions vitally affecting the integrity of the country as a, say, prime-minister-in-waiting, what can the people of this country expect from her if she does become the PM?

ISLAMIC AFFAIRS**Qadiyani Sect's Literature for Central Asia Seized**

93AS0892B Karachi *JANG* in Urdu 18 May 93 p 1

[News Report: "Customs Officials Confiscated Qadiyani Literature Intended for Central Asia; the Literature Was Printed in Local Languages; the Intelligence Bureau Has Sent a Report on Qadiyani Activities to Islamabad."]

[Text] Karachi, (commerce reporter): Pakistan Customs has confiscated several tons of Qadiyani literature sent from London and intended for Central Asian countries. The literature was printed in the local languages of Central Asia. According to informed sources, Qadiyani literature is being sent by sea to Pakistan from London and Scandinavian countries. This is the first time that literature intended for Central Asian countries has been seized. Meanwhile, the Intelligence Bureau has prepared a report on the activities of Qadiyanis and sent it to Islamabad; the report mentions the names of financial backers as well. According to sources, Pakistani Muslims distributing propaganda and Quranic literature in Central Asian countries are being harassed by Qadiyani informants; left-over communists and secular elements are being instigated against the Muslims who are then prevented from propagating their religion. In Pakistan, M. M. Ahmad, deputy chairman of planning during Ayub's term of office, has become active again; he met with several prominent political and government personalities in Islamabad prior to April 18, 1993, and his round of meetings continues.

Call for Banning Qadiyani Sect From Islam

93AS0892C Karachi *JANG* in Urdu 21 May 93 p 18

[News Report: "Qadiyanis Should Be Prevented From Using Islamic Rites; Religious Forces Should Unite and Take Note of Qadiyani Activities; Joint Convention of Religious Scholars Issues Demands."]

[Text] Hyderabad (JANG correspondent): A joint divisional convention of religious scholars, Miftah Al Uloum, was held in Hyderabad under the sponsorship of

the world council for the preservation of the end of the line of prophets [Islam believes Mohammad to be the last in the line of many prophets sent by God; any sect which believes in a prophet after him is not considered Muslim]. Maulana Abdul Raouf presided over the convention and the guest of honor was vice chairman Maulana Mohammad Yousuf Ludhiyanavi. Prominent religious scholars from various cities of Hyderabad Division took part in the convention. Maulana Ahmad Mian Hamadi; Maulana Jamal Allah Hussaini; Maulana Mohammad Ayub; Maulana Saif Al Rahman Arain; Maulana Taj Mohammad Nahiyun; Maulana Hafiz Al Rahmani; Maulana Mohammad Yousuf; Maulana Abdul Majid; Maulana Shabir Ahmad; Maulana Ghulam Mohammad; Mufti Khaled Mahmud; Abdul Qayum Abbasi; Maulana Abdul Sattar Javatra; Hafiz Mohammad Akbar Rashid; Hafiz Mohammad Sharif and Mohammad Zaman Khan addressed the convention and expressed concern over the activities of the Qadiyanis. They said that Qadiyani officials who were occupying key posts in Pakistan were taking an active part in propagating that sect and that several Qadiyani embassy employees were also propagating the sect in foreign countries. Great emphasis was placed on achieving unity among all religious elements and paying attention to Qadiyani activities. A resolution was passed demanding that the government implement the 73rd amendment to the constitution which designates Qadiyanis as non-Muslims and put into effect the 1984 ordinance regarding restrictions on Qadiyanism; that Qadiyanis be prevented from using Islamic customs and traditions and Qadiyani missionary and welfare organizations be watched closely. The convention commended high officials of Karachi Customs for confiscating several tons of Qadiyani literature being sent from England to Central Asia.

ECONOMIC

Economic Uncertainty Seen After Sharif Dismissal

93AS0862H Karachi DAWN in English 27 Apr 93 p 9

[Article by Shahid Kardar: "The Economic Uncertainty"]

[Text] Yet another elected prime minister has been booted out of office and a "government of national consensus" has been formed to supervise the holding of free elections.

Mr Nawaz Sharif has been packed off to Lahore just a few days before two events of crucial economic importance were to be staged: (a) The meeting of the Aid to Pakistan Consortium in Paris on April 22; (b) The finalisation of the budgetary proposals for the fiscal year 1993-94, which were to form a critical component of the package that was to be agreed with the IMF to enable Pakistan to qualify for a potential loan of US\$ 1 billion under ESAF [Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility].

In view of the political uncertainty and confusion in the country the Consortium meeting has been indefinitely

postponed. A long delay would, of course, mean that aid agencies will not have adequate time to examine and process Pakistan's request, thereby affecting inflows of external capital, particularly of the concessional variety, during the year 1993-94. The government will, therefore, be forced to draw on its already limited reserves of foreign exchange to maintain operations, increasing the vulnerability of these reserves.

In any case, the Consortium members would be rightly concerned about the impact of the change in government on the agenda for economic reform. Even if they do not express doubts about assurances that there will be no policy reversal, they would still have difficulty in accepting commitments that the reform momentum would be maintained. Even if, somehow, the elections are held on a hot 14th July and a new government takes office, it will almost certainly be a coalition of diverse political and interest groups (politically this is the only arrangement that the Pakistan establishment would find agreeable).

The economic policies of such a coalition will be pulled in different directions which might, on occasions, make it difficult to ascertain the direction of economic reform. Nevertheless, even if the direction of economic policy does not change, the new political actors will not have the same degree of commitment to economic reform as the previous government. Consequently, the pace of reform will slow down, and may even grind to a halt if the bureaucracy were to have its way.

International lending agencies were fully supportive of the direction of economic policy and, in most cases, the speed at which reforms were being introduced although they (as well as many commentators within the country) had expressed their concerns on the modalities of the implementation strategy being pursued.

It is also fairly obvious that with the removal of a government that was sympathetic towards the industrial lobby, domestic private investors will immediately put on hold future investment plans. As we all know investment decisions are more heavily influenced by psychological factors. The previous government had certainly managed to create an environment which entrepreneurs were finding more open and in which they had greater freedom.

The widely held perception, whatever the reality, was that the country was on the move. They are likely to sit back and wait for the new government to unfold its plans and then review the operational aspects of these policies before making future commitments. Their efforts for the next year or so will be primarily focused on making existing investments (or those already in the pipeline) work. If domestic entrepreneurs play a waiting game foreign investors can hardly be expected to come in droves. As it is foreigners have always expressed their reluctance to come to a country characterised by political

instability and if domestic investors are not forthcoming they cannot be seriously expected to invest in a country whose own entrepreneurs have doubts about the government's intentions and plans. And if investors' confidence is not restored quickly, which will be a problem as it has more to do with perceptions rather than realities, all hopes of entering the 21st century on a higher growth path will have been blown away by the winds of change sweeping the rest of the world.

The weakest areas of the previous government's economic policy were the following:

(a) The balance of payments: Foreign exchange reserves (at barely 5 weeks of imports, despite the U.S.\$ 1.5 billion inflow into the foreign currency deposits) are insufficient for reducing the vulnerability of the economy to external shocks arising as a result of higher oil prices, a depressed international market for cotton and cotton products and the higher import bill because of the liberalisation of the trade regime.

(b) The budgetary deficit: The deficit is out of control and threatening to cross the psychological barrier of Rs. 100 billion. The reasons for the burgeoning deficit include higher expenditures, the government's failure to institute efficiency in public expenditure and lower than estimated revenues (the latter owing to reasons ranging from over estimation of receipts at the time of the formulation of the budget to the international recession and the weak tax collection effort).

It would be difficult for any government to balance the budgetary sums and carry conviction with the hectoring foreign creditors or the demanding vested interests in the country. In any case, as the interim government will be unable to frame a budget that grapples the deficit issue in a worthwhile manner, funds are not likely to be forthcoming from the IMF later this year. This will only serve to weaken the foreign exchange position. And once those holding the large foreign currency deposits (that are temporarily financing the trade deficit and bolstering the State Bank's foreign exchange reserves) start doubting the government's ability to meet its liabilities there could be a run on the banks and capital flight could become a distinct possibility. The fragile Pakistan economy would be unable to face up to such a turn of events.

The caretaker Prime Minister's declaration that the caretaker government will examine the implementation arrangements regarding privatisation and that it will issue a detailed policy statement on the government's financial position will only succeed in confusing the situation further. This government's only mandate is to hold elections within 90 days. The task of formulating new policies can only vest with the new government. The policies designed by an interim government that has no representative status should not be binding on the government that will assume office in July.

Economic Shortfalls Recounted, Decentralization Advocated

93AS0897A Karachi *BUSINESS RECORDER* in English
9 May 93 p 2

[Article by Nisar Ahmed Sheikh: "Shortfalls Stare Our Economy in the Face"]

[Text] From the economic trend in the first half of the current year—1992-93—it appears that Pakistan would face significant shortfalls in the projected targets in key areas of the economy.

This has been stated by the economic group of the Institute of Policy Studies which carried out an independent appraisal of the Pakistan economy. At its meeting in January, 1993 the group reviewed the state of economy, various reforms introduced and programmes implemented by the government during the past two years.

The group has noted that the unprecedented floods caused great damage to agriculture, hitting particularly the cotton crop. The GDP [gross domestic product] growth is, therefore, feared to be only 5.5 per cent as against 6.2 per cent envisaged for 1992-93.

The economists group he added [as published] by Dr. Arshad Zaman recounted various measures taken by the former (Nawaz Sharif) government in different sectors of the economy, yet found it disturbing that there was still no visible impact on the life of the common man. The social sectors, particularly, were found to be the weakest areas of our national life. The bulk of the country's population being illiterate and having had little access to such basic amenities as Health services, clean drinking water, sewerage facilities etc. All this warranted a fresh look at our development approach and appropriate structural changes in the whole system.

The central core of all policy interventions and reforms is to provide gainful employment to the millions of working-age jobless persons. The group observed that despite general and specific measures there has been little impact on the employment situation. Above all the issue of good governance was found to be most disturbing. The noble cause of economic and social uplift, as manifest in the policy and reform actions of the government seems to be squarely defeated at the implementation level. Numerous donor assisted projects were in hand but were showing no progress. Success of the programmes like social action plan and national rural support programme was doubtful.

To maintain the beneficial effects of government policies and programmes and to ensure that visible improvement is brought in the life of the common person, commensurate to growth process, the group made the following specific suggestions and recommendations.

State of economy: Bold economic decisions and difficult political choices are warranted if we intend to achieve the 7 per cent annual growth with consistent increases in

other areas, as envisaged for the 8th plan. In the production sector both manufacturing and agriculture appear not to be moving at the desired pace. Acceleration of broad-based industrial and employment growth, development of infrastructure—both physical and social—and serious efforts for poverty alleviation should form the core of economic decisions.

Unequal and inefficient credit distribution, low returns on savings, conspicuous consumption and ostentatious living are some of the major factors affecting our saving and investment environment and need to be looked at seriously. Large fiscal deficit resulting in increased reliance on bank borrowing—Rs. 72.4 billion during 1991-92 is not attainable. Plenty of waste could be avoided and the government could transfer many functions that could be accomplished, easily and more economically, by the private sector, the local authorities and the communities.

Foreign investment which is being relied upon to fill the gap between savings and investment, may prove to be only a short term measure.

The volume of external debt and the resultant debt service burden also rose to new heights as total external debt stood at \$16.6 billion (38.2 per cent of GNP) and the debt service consumed 14.9 per cent of foreign exchange earnings. Contrary to the professed goal of self-reliance, dependence on foreign debt was increasing and bringing with it enormous political and economic pressures.

Pakistan's balance of payment is characterised by a narrow export base—depending mainly on cotton and cotton based manufactures—decreasing home remittances not because of foreign currency accounts alone, but drastically falling workers' wages, an anti-export bias of the trade regime and unsatisfactory demand management. All this requires appropriate restructuring, acceleration of the exports of value-added products and a selective import substitution programme.

In spite of all claims and comparison with regional states, Pakistan's income distribution is simply not equitable. One third of the population, whether rural or urban, lived below the poverty line. The magnitude of the black money market was beyond any comprehension, threatening the social and economic fabric of the society.

Deregulation of the economy: Deregulation, as observed in the group discussions, does not mean no regulation, but to provide a set of new regulations that attempt to exercise distant rather than direct bureaucratic control. As regards other sectors of economy, the serious gap of policy and implementation here also demanded appropriate restructuring. In the open environment envisaged now, the responsibilities of monitoring institutions and the instruments employed were of crucial importance. The legal framework suggested and the implementation machinery installed should work hand in hand for

smooth functioning of the economy now that the sanctioning procedures and stringent controls are gone, the new mechanism should ensure liberty of enterprise so as to serve larger interest of economy and nation.

Modaraba—has yet to take roots and consolidate. It was however, being subjected to heavy-handed regulation. Some even term the current situation as "a highly regulatory environment". The blame certainly carries weight as it inspired a senate committee to ask the authorities to go into the grievances of modaraba companies.

Privatisation: The pace of privatisation in such a short span of time has been termed commendable, yet questions have been raised particularly with respect to its transparency. Six modes of privatisation were identified for divestiture, yet the enterprises have been divested only through bidding and in that case the reserve prices were not announced. The result in some cases has been the rejection of higher bids. Keeping secret the evaluation of assets, the financial health and the reserve price, casts serious doubts about the prices and compels the investors to compete without complete information. They rely only on their own perception of the probable benefits that a unit yields in future. The divested units are to retain the labour for one year but when the producers are not bound any more, at least 40,000 to 60,000 workers were expected to lose their jobs. Similarly the expected capital intensive techniques' introduction will further affect the employment situation. All this must be kept in mind for our future manpower planning. The 70 units divested are valued at over Rs. 8 billion, out of which about Rs. 4 billion have already been realised. It is not clear where and how this money is being used, except for a brief news that part of it is earmarked for SAP [Structural Adjustment Program]. The nation must be told clearly what are government's reinvestment plans.

Auction of internal public debt: It is only 22 months since the auction programme of the government was initiated yet some areas of attention could be identified at this stage.

There is a big disparity amongst yields on various instruments. The result has been that T-bills and FIBs have not yet fully attracted many market participants, particularly the individual end-investors and non-financial institutions. The schemes are more popular with commercial banks and NBFIs, as they have availed the opportunity of new market instruments and higher yields on their reserve requirements.

The secondary market was to provide an access channel for buyers and market based avenue of liquidity for holders of securities, yet it does not seem to be operating in a competitive environment which could ensure a fair market price for traded securities.

The auctioning programme also visualized reducing the cost of raising debts. There has been little success,

however, in bringing down the size of interest payments which has emerged as the single largest item of current expenditure.

Relaxation of exchange controls: The basic objectives of foreign exchange reforms were to attract funds into foreign currency accounts [FCA] which could improve the external reserve position, regulate the black market exchange system and optimise the pace of foreign investment. Both FCAs and the reserve position improved to the extent expected. A number of factors hindering the process were observed:

1. FCA is yet to establish fully credibility in satisfying the demands of the depositors, particularly prompt payments in currency notes.

2. The non-friendly international mood keeps the investors shy.

3. The uncertain and ambiguous stand of the government in certain areas of the economy have created a mood of "wait and see". The government's own reservations in Islamisation have contributed to its failure to make a proper case to satisfy potential investors that they will gain more under the Islamic system rather than lose.

State of agriculture: The contribution of agriculture to GDP growth during 1991-92 was mainly attributed only to one cash crop—cotton. The production of food and other crops has either shown no improvement or has even declined (rice). This necessitates a disaggregate approach to the crop and other sectors and calls for special attention to be given to the needs of each component.

The continuous neglect of the agriculture sector, as apparent from public resource allocations over different plan periods and non-rational input-output price structure that is further weakening the rural resource base, will soon pose the economy with a challenge of growth, employment and equity issues, which are hard to tackle. Timely inter sectoral adjustments and other appropriate measures may help to stall the danger. The rural resource constraints and poverty alleviation issues could be simultaneously and effectively addressed if Ushr was realised at least as efficiently as Zakat. The rural industrialisation programme with concomitant actions in human resource development, finance and institution building, will reinforce agriculture, ease the unemployment situation and ameliorate the lot of landless and other rural poor.

Employment situation: Pakistan's reported open unemployment of 3.1 per cent proves misleading unless the disguised unemployed labour force is also duly considered. The specific employment schemes initiated by the present government also do not seem to be making a sizeable dent on the current state, and a renewed and vigorous approach on all fronts is needed. Strenuous efforts will have to be made to expand the manufacturing sector and serious undertaking to reshape the rural industrialisation programme.

State of socio-economic infrastructure: Pakistan's social sector development provides a very discouraging picture almost in all respects. A whole new look appears essential and appropriate restructuring made in education, health, population and other social services sectors. The change must be qualitative and quantitative. It is pertinent to suggest that presentation of a welfare budget along with the regular budget be made obligatory. A meaningful decentralised approach will help the government to transfer much of the burden to local authorities and communities.

Drastic Measures Recommended Against Mammoth Deficit

93AS0846F Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
8 May 93 p 12

[Article by Aroosa Alam: "Fiscal Deficit To Cross Rs 100 Billion"]

[Text]

Economy in a Mess: Drastic Remedial Measures Needed

Islamabad, May 7: Nawaz Sharif government has left the nation's economy in the worse ever mess as the fiscal deficit looks certain to go much beyond Rs [Rupees] 100 billion as against projected target of Rs 94 billion with the prospects of hyper inflation to hit the country which is further confronted with the loan-giving agencies pressure to reduce fiscal deficit to Rs 75-85 billion in 1993-94, thereby forcing the caretakers to resort to heavy taxation and more borrowings at great political cost in the election time.

As the finance managers of the present government busied themselves with the budget-making exercise, they are finding themselves in a fix how to retrieve the economy out of the mess.

The fiscal deficit which had touched the mark of Rs 73 billion in the first six months of the current fiscal year, had reached the mark of Rs 90 billion by the end of March this year. They said the expenditure indiscipline combined with shortfall in revenues increased the government borrowing from the banking stood at Rs 57.3 billion in the first six months of the year which was already more than twice the amount envisaged for the year as a whole (Rs 25 billion in the credit plan). The sources said it further increased to Rs 67 billion by April 15, 1993.

According to the sources, the growth target was reduced from 6.2 percent to 4.9 per cent in Feb 1993, anticipating inflation hitting the range of 11 to 12 percent. They said the manufacturing value added which was projected to grow by 8.5 per cent, was restricted to 5.6 per cent during the first 7-8 months of the fiscal year. The decline in the production of major agricultural crops is by 11.5 per cent.

In March 1993, the consumer price index increased by 5.3 per cent. As against the projected increase of 24.5 per cent in the revenue collection by CBR [Central Board of Revenue], the collection in the first nine months of the fiscal year was by 10.8 per cent.

Officials said that bad policy decisions together with lavish spending led the previous government to commit macro-economic indiscipline. They said though Pakistan was committed to contain fiscal deficit to Rs 94 billion of the year as a whole the fiscal deficit may skip Rs 100 billion by the end of the fiscal year. Sources figured out that fiscal operations of the corporations may be more expansionary than anticipated. They further said given country's track record these outcomes would lessen considerably Pakistan's negotiations of an ESAF [Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility] arrangement with the IMF, and PSAL [Public Sector Adjustment Loan] and other general financial assistance from the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank.

The officials said that it would also have unfavourable implications of the Consortium. They pointed out that containment of demand pressure in 1993-94 would require bringing down the budget deficit to the limit of Rs 75-85 billion in 93-94. Official sources said that to reduce the deficit to the required level, the government would have to make endeavours for increasing collection of existing tax revenues apart from ensuring transfer of due payments from WAPDA [Water and Power Development Authority] and State bank, mobilising additional resources and restricting expenditure. The sources said that in fact an agreement with the IMF and World Bank would hinge on reducing the budget deficit in the range of Rs 75-85 billion in 93-94.

According to officials, the problems of budget-making are compounded by two major inevitable obligations—that is debt-servicing and defence.

Sources said recently the caretaker PM Balakh Sher Mazari along with his finance team visited GHQ [General headquarters] where they were informed that under the given geo-political situations, the Pak Army needs to equip itself with modern technology and operational preparedness on account of which the defence cuts would not be advisable. Sources said during PM's visit to PAF [Pakistan Air Force], he was informed that PAF stood in dire need of the combat aircraft in the absence of F-16s.

Officials sources said while the current expenditures on defence and debt-servicing are inflexible and rising, the expenditures on social sectors are inadequate, the tax system is inelastic and tax-GDP [Gross Domestic Product] ratio very low and the resources mobilisation efforts have been weak during the Nawaz Sharif government. Moreover, bad pricing policies of the previous government and domestic debt-management have created additional burden on the budget.

Officials expressed concern that in spite of tightening of liquidity conditions since Jan 1993, monetary expansion

during the first nine months of 1992-93 was very high (14.8 percent). Similarly net domestic credit expansion of initial stock of money was higher than 1991-92. They said that based on the developments during the first nine months and expected budgetary outcome and consistent rate of inflation, monetary expansion is projected at about 17.5 percent in 92-93 which is higher than the projected increase in nominal GDP.

After taking into account the projected developments in the balance of payments, the increase in net domestic credit is projected at Rs 105 billion or equivalent to 21.5 percent of the initial stock of money. Thus the containment of private sector credit since Jan 1993, the projected level of credit and monetary expansion in 92-93 would add further to the liquidity overhang and demand pressure.

Officials said that budget 92-93 had assumed that the exports will grow by about 19.5 percent and there will be a slow-down in the imports. It was expected that the current account deficit would decline to dollar 2.2 billion, to be financed by the foreign official assistance and the private investments and foreign currency deposits. The foreign exchange reserve position was expected to be strengthened but the latest projections indicate that exports growth will be much lower, the current account deficit would be larger, foreign capital inflows would be lower than projected and there would be substantial draw-down of the reserves of foreign exchange.

Officials said due to bad policy decisions, the two main sources of foreign exchange receipts—exports and remittances—have begun to show a declining trend in the recent past. They said that damage to the cotton crop, recession in textile industry, weak world import demand, improved competitiveness of India, and climate of uncertainty in the country had been instrumental in affecting exports.

The remittances, which had shown a healthy trend in the early six months, the sources said, have also recently slowed down due to deportation of Pakistanis from the Gulf.

Sources said that these developments in combination with substantial debt-service and defence-related payments have led to a sharp reduction in the gross foreign exchange reserves of the country. They said that it is projected that these reserves may go down further in the remainder of the year and the trend, if not reversed, may have severe medium-term balance of payment implications.

Keeping in view the bad shape of economy, the sources said, the caretaker government is considering to take stringent measures to put the economy back on the rail. They are said to be taking measures for expenditure controls and plugging of loopholes that allow supplementary expenditure without prior legislative approval. They said accordingly the structure of taxation may be changed to improve its elasticity and coverage and rationalisation of tariffs, increased reliance on domestic

consumption taxes, expansion of income tax base and flexible pricing policies. They said the government is considering to take several monetary policy steps to check the rate of excessive monetary expansion. They said that the pre-requisite for that is a substantial reduction in the government borrowings from the banking system. Officials said that a study jointly undertaken by the State Bank and Ministry of Finance in mid-April 93 had recommended that the government borrowings should not be allowed to go beyond Rs 70 billion in 92-93 in other words, it had asked the government to freeze government borrowing at the level that had already been reached and reduce it to about Rs 40 billion in 93-94.

Exports, Trade Gap Reviewed

93AS08621 Karachi DAWN Supplement in English
1 May 93 pp V

[Article by Aftab Ahmad: "\$8 Billion Export Target Attainable; Need To Check Imports"]

[Text] Based on past trends, export figures are known to pick up significantly in the second half of the financial year. Hence, the rather dismal statistics for the first eight months are no reason to despair... yet. However, much effort needs to be put on narrowing the overall balance of trade gap so as to put Pakistan on firmer economic footing.

According to figures released by the Federal Bureau of Statistics, Pakistan has exported goods worth \$4.494 billion (Rs 114.771 billion) during July-February 1992-93. The monthly average during the eight months works out to \$0.56 billion. If exports for the remaining four months of the financial year also are calculated at this rate, exports for the entire fiscal year 1992-93 would amount to \$6.7 billion. Apprehensions have, therefore,

been expressed recently that the export target of \$8 billion fixed for the financial year 1991-93 [as published] may not be achieved.

However, a close study of the country's export trade statistics of the past years would show that in Pakistan, exports have remained sluggish during the first few months of the financial year and have gained momentum in the remaining six months of the financial year, with the result that exports during the January-June period are substantially higher than during July-December.

Thus during January-June 1991-92, exports from Pakistan were valued at Rs 97 billion as compared to only Rs 74.7 billion during the preceding six month period viz July-December 1991-92. The same trend was witnessed a year earlier viz in 1990-91. The position is shown in Table I.

Table I. Exports From Pakistan

Year	Value (Billion Rs)
1990-91	138.3
July-December	58.9
January-June	79.4
1991-92	171.7
July-December	74.7
January-June	97.0

Source: Federal Bureau of Statistics

Export of major commodities has shown a similar trend. Thus in the year 1991 (January-December), export of raw cotton amounted to Rs 6.29 billion in the April-June quarter, compared to Rs 0.97 to Rs 1.64 billion only during the other three quarters of the calendar year. Export of cotton yarn and thread and rice showed similar trends as will be observed from Table II.

Table II. Exports Trend by Major Commodities in Year 1991 (Value (Billion Rs.))

Quarter	Raw cotton	Cotton yarn and thread	Rice
January-March	1.64	6.63	2.26
April-June	6.29	8.84	2.93
July-September	1.52	6.60	2.75
October-December	0.97	5.22	1.93

Source: Federal Bureau of Statistics.

The above-mentioned trend may be attributable to a number of factors. Firstly, in the case of raw cotton and rice, the new crop comes in September-December. Exports, therefore, remain at a lower level in the beginning and pick up only when estimates about the new crop are firmed up in the second half of the fiscal year.

Secondly, during the last quarter of the year (April-June), exporters of cotton manufactures accelerate their efforts to fully utilise their textile export quotas and, thirdly, the exporters endeavour to make best possible use of existing

fiscal incentives and export as much as they can before the announcement of the next federal budget which becomes operative from July 1.

If the above-mentioned export trend is kept in view, the exports during the remaining four months of the current financial year 1992-93 should be substantially higher than that worked out on the basis of monthly average of last eight months. A look at last four months of the financial year (March-June) 1991-92 shows that exports amounted to Rs 70.7 billion as against Rs 101 billion

during the first eight months viz July-February 1991-92, which means that exports during March-June 1991-92 were about 70 per cent of the exports during July-February 1991-92. If the above-mentioned trend witnessed last year repeats itself during the current financial year, there is no doubt that we are heading for a near \$7 to \$7.5 billion mark and with a little effort during the remaining four months of the year, it may be possible to achieve the export target of \$8 billion fixed for 1992-93.

Since our exports are cotton-oriented to a large extent, export projections can be meaningful only if the availability of cotton is fully kept in view. The cotton crop this year was adversely affected by devastating floods known to be the worst in Pakistan's history. According to informed sources in the Agriculture Ministry, the cotton crop for the year 1992-93 is estimated at 9.5 million bales as compared to 12.5 million bales in 1991-92.

It may be recalled here that cotton production in Pakistan was 9.6 million bales in 1990-91 and it was 8.5 million bales in 1989-90. In fact, the cotton crop for 1991-92 (12.5 million bales) was a record crop and it was never achieved earlier.

According to statistics released by the Federal Bureau of Statistics, Pakistan exported 209,549 metric tonnes of raw cotton valued at Rs 5.43 billion during July-February 1992-93 compared to 141,719 metric tonnes valued at Rs 4.41 billion during the corresponding period of last year. Thus export of raw cotton during the first eight months of the current financial year was higher than the export during corresponding period of last year.

Balance of Trade

However, during the remaining four months of the current financial year it may be difficult to maintain this trend as the All Pakistan Textile Mills Association (APTMA) is reportedly putting pressure on the government not to export raw cotton during the remaining period of the current financial year.

As reported by the Federal Bureau of Statistics, Pakistan imported goods worth \$6.290 billion during the first eight months of the current financial year viz July-February 1992-93 as compared to \$6.082 billion imports during the corresponding period of last year. Since import of machinery, which is a significant import item, has shown a downward trend recently, total imports during 1992-93 may be restricted to nearly \$9.0 to \$9.5 billion. Therefore, even if the country succeeds in achieving the export target of \$8.0 billion, we may be facing a trade deficit of \$1.0 to \$1.5 billion.

The ultimate objective should be to do away with the chronic trade deficit facing the country, without which the dream of self-reliance cannot become a reality. This can be done only by stepping up exports, on the one hand, and keeping the imports within limits, on the other hand, through import substitution wherever possible.

Export Growth Slowdown Seen

93AS0897B Karachi *BUSINESS RECORDER* in English
16 May 93 p 2

[Editorial: "Deceleration in Export Growth"]

[Text] The export front continues to give disturbing signals. This is illustrated by the April 1993 export statistics which have indicated a 13.7 per cent decrease in export earnings in dollars compared to the export figures of April 1992. The export receipts in April 1993 dropped to \$566 million compared with \$655.8 million in April 1992. The declining trend in export earnings over the corresponding months of 1992 set in since February 1993 has remained unchecked. Thus it is the third month consecutively that Pakistan's exports have maintained the decline. As a result, the overall growth in exports, for which a target of 15 per cent has been set for 1992-93, it appears, would turn out to be negligible or even negative at the end of the year. The export growth for July 1992 to April 1993 (10 months) has worked out to only 3.6 per cent showing deceleration from July-March (1992-93) growth of 5.92 per cent.

The export earnings for the 10-month period of the current financial year are estimated at \$5,617.9 million as compared to \$5,422.7 million during the corresponding 10 months of last year. Assuming average exports of \$650 million per month for the remaining two months of the current financial year, the total figure for the country's export earnings at the end of June 1993, can be placed anywhere around \$6,738 million which would reflect a lower level than the 1991-92 export earnings of \$6,900 million. By all appearances, a reversal in export growth is imminent. This will indeed prove to be a shocking aspect in the performance of the economy in a very vital sector which has the potential to contribute to the country's economic self-reliance. The disappointing export performance has the portents to throw overboard the target of \$8 billion set for 1992-93 and \$10 billion for the next financial year.

It appears that apart from the continued spell of recession in USA and Western Europe combined with increasing tendencies in these countries to restrict imports of manufactured and semi-manufactured goods from the developing world through quota restraints and other protective trade practices, Pakistan's slow-down in exports in 1992-93 specially in the latter half of the year, can be attributed to onset of political uncertainties which in turn have given rise to uncertainties in economic policies. Under these circumstances, the concerned authorities seemingly could not pay prompt attention to plug the loopholes in the policy framework.

One of the important concerns of exporters and export industries have been noted to be the slow disposal of cases of duty drawbacks. Secondly, export finance remained by and large scarce commensurate with its demand while the rates of mark-up, having gone up to new highs, seem to have escalated cost of production in industries specially in export industries. The various

textile groups which predominate the country's export potential to the extent of 56 per cent, suffered decline in unit prices in most cases while the volume of their exports remained modestly up. This reflected the impact of tough competition in the export market. These problems need to be looked into in the case of individual export industries which deserve prompt attention for the redressal of their problems.

Unfair Elections Wasting National Resources

93AS0863D Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English
10 May 93 p 7

[Article by R. Balasubramanyam: "Making Elections Free and Fair"]

[Text] Democracy is defined as government of the people, by the people, for the people. If this form is to be meaningful and effective, franchise must be exercised freely and fearlessly, according to the conscience of each individual voter, whether it be in the Parliamentary, Assembly or other elections. Once the free exercise of this is deflected by the use of corrupt and undesirable practices, the democratic process loses its meaning. It would be advantageous to enumerate some of the defects of the present election law and to suggest remedies to enable law-makers to rectify them.

As the law stands today, a candidate has the choice of standing simultaneously from several constituencies for the Parliamentary and Assembly elections. If he were to succeed in more than one constituency, he may select only one of the seats and resign the rest. This evidently leads to vacancies to be filled up in the by-elections.

No candidate should have the choice of standing as a candidate for more than one constituency. This would altogether do away with by-elections due to resignations.

Sitting members of the Legislative Council (MLCs) or the Rajya Sabha (MPs) are being allowed to contest the elections to the Assembly or Lok Sabha before resigning from the seat held by them. This should not be permitted until they first resign their membership of the Upper House. To some extent, this would eliminate by-elections and the resultant election expenses.

In the present system, there is scope for a candidate who has been rejected by his electorate in the general election to get chosen to the membership of the upper houses. This means that persons who are rejected are being thrust on the electorate against their declared will. It is akin to a back-door method. The power of the electorate is thus negated by the persons elected by them. Therefore, a candidate who has lost in the general election/by-election should be barred from entry into the Upper Houses during the term of the Lower House in respect of which he was defeated.

Sitting members of the Upper Houses as well as of the Lower Houses should be barred from contesting elections to the other House, unless they first resign the seats they are holding.

When the MLAs [Member of Legislative Assembly] are given a chance to vote in the election of the President, there is no meaning in denying such a right to them in respect of the election of the Vice-President. One uniform policy must be followed in this regard.

The system of proportional representation for choice of members to the Upper House should be abolished as the voters electing them are themselves representatives from several constituencies formed on the proportional the population-ratio basis. There is no need again to impose proportional representation for the second time.

Instead of the proportional representation system, direct election from among the MPs or MLAs should be held by secret ballot by choosing the members to the Upper Houses. Again, the computation of votes in the present system is far too complicated for even an enlightened person to understand.

As it is, if a candidate belonging to any recognised national party dies before the elections, the election process stops, resulting in huge wastage of money spent by the election machinery. There is no such postponement if a non-party member dies. This should be modified. Once an election process starts, it should not be postponed on account of the death of any candidate irrespective of whether one does or does not belong to any party. The national parties may be permitted to field an alternative candidate to provide for representation of the party in the event of death of one of them.

In the teachers' constituency for election to the Legislative Council, only teachers of secondary schools and above have a chance of representation. In these days, even when primary school teachers are equally qualified as graduates, double-graduates or professional graduates, there is no justification for depriving primary school teachers of the opportunity to participate. This distinction between one teacher and another teacher should be eliminated by throwing open the teacher's constituency to all teachers irrespective of the educational standard of their institutions.

In the present system, there is special provision for electing members only of some professions (teachers, graduates). This does not adequately represent a cross-section of all professions. Adequate provision should be made for the representation of several other disciplines like law, medicine, engineering, accounts, fine arts and culture.

Women are not adequately represented in the Lower Houses. A minimum of 10 per cent of the number of seats in the Lower Houses should be reserved for them to begin with.

The law in regard to Presidential and Vice-Presidential elections needs to be amended. Candidates for these posts should be supported by at least two recognised national parties though they may not be members of any party. Independent candidates without the support of any such parties should have no chance to contest. This is because

recent experience in the elections to these exalted offices has shown that people lacking in seriousness can stand as candidates by making a mockery of the process but occasioning huge expenditure to the exchequer.

Even with regard to the mode of elections of the President and Vice-President, the present system of fixing different values for the votes of the MLAs and the MPs should be discarded and the simple system of calculating the value fixed for each vote of the MP and the MLA on population basis should be adopted. By such a process, transport of ballot boxes from every nook and corner of the country in the Presidential election to Delhi and the elaborate and costly security arrangements could be eliminated. The mode of counting could also be rendered very easy by adopting electronic devices. If possible, elections to the post of President and Vice-President should be held simultaneously by a direct voting process.

Once the general election is over, some of the elected candidates change their party loyalties or resign their membership to oblige and accommodate others. All this is done in utter breach of trust reposed in them by the electorate. Even though the Anti-Defection Law was passed by the late Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi to prevent weakening or toppling of the governments, it has not been able to plug all the loopholes. Such a change of loyalty leads to a serious threat to the stability of the government in power, particularly during times when we have a "hung Parliament." The election law should be so modified that no candidate can change his party, leave his party, joint a new party or remain aloof after resigning his party membership altogether during the period for which he is elected, except in the case of genuine ill-health duly certified by competent medical men.

In case an elected member changes his pre-election status, severe penalties must be imposed on him and he should be compelled to reimburse the expenditure incurred by the election machinery for the conduct of elections in his constituency. Threats of floor-crossing and change-over of whatever kind should have no place particularly when the soundness and stability of the government in power is at stake. We have been witnessing mid-term general elections in the recent past when governments have been toppled over one after the other in quick succession. The chief reason against such elections is that in a huge country like ours, the exchequer cannot afford the heavy electoral expenses.

All election disputes relating to the Parliament and Assemblies are being decided by the High Courts of the concerned jurisdiction. The process of enquiry and decision takes a lot of time, sometimes two or three years after the elections. If a declared candidate is disqualified at the end of the enquiry, he would have had an opportunity to exercise his votes illegally up to the period when he is declared disqualified. To avoid this and to eliminate inate delay in the disposal of election disputes, election tribunals must be set up in adequate number to

be presided over by a High Court or Supreme Court judge, whether sitting or retired. They can settle election disputes expeditiously.

All disputes should be decided by these election tribunals within six months. If necessary, the tribunals could sit every day. In the event of both the petitioner/s and the contesting respondent/s not succeeding in the final decision of the Tribunal, the candidate obtaining the next highest votes should be automatically declared elected for the constituency, instead of launching a by-election.

Booth capturing, arson, looting and murder have become the order of the day in elections as experience has proved. Freedom of franchise and freedom from fear are totally lost or curtailed by illegal interference. This item requires a very careful handling by the lawmakers by suitable amendment of the relevant laws. Very severe punishment should be imposed on those interfering with free and fearless exercise of franchise. Secondly, attempts to disturb the normal course of exercising franchise by corrupt and undesirable practices should be countered with rigorous punishment. In proven cases, the minimum punishment should be disqualification for a period of ten years from contesting. In addition, rigorous imprisonment for at least three years should be imposed on such offenders.

These are some of the electoral reforms which have to be adopted by amending various Acts like the People's Representation Act, the Anti-Defection Act, and even Constitution of India, etc., so that the democratic institutions in the country will be able to perform their functions properly.

In the present system, there is special provision for electing members only of some professions (teachers, graduates). This does not adequately represent a cross-section of all professions. Adequate provision should be made for the representation of several other disciplines like law, medicine, engineering, accounts, fine arts and culture.

Women are not adequately represented in the Lower Houses. A minimum of 10 per cent of the number of seats in the Lower Houses should be reserved for them to begin with.

The law in regard to Presidential and Vice-Presidential elections needs to be amended. Candidates for these posts should be supported by at least two recognised national parties though they may not be members of any party. Independent candidates without the support of any such parties should have no chance to contest. This is because recent experience in the elections to these exalted offices has shown that people lacking in seriousness can stand as candidates by making a mockery of the process but occasioning huge expenditure to the exchequer.

Even with regard to the mode of elections of the President and Vice-President, the present system of fixing different values for the votes of the MLAs and the MPs

should be discarded and the simple system of calculating the value fixed for each vote of the MP and the MLA on population basis should be adopted. By such a process, transport of ballot boxes from every nook and corner of the country in the Presidential election to Delhi and the elaborate and costly security arrangements could be eliminated. The mode of counting could also be rendered very easy by adopting electronic devices. If possible, elections to the post of President and Vice-President should be held simultaneously by a direct voting process.

Once the general election is over, some of the elected candidates change their party loyalties or resign their membership to oblige and accommodate others. All this is done in utter breach of trust reposed in them by the electorate. Even though the Anti-Defection Law was passed by the late Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi to prevent weakening or toppling of the governments, it has not been able to plug all the loopholes. Such a change of loyalty leads to a serious threat to the stability of the government in power, particularly during times when we have a "hung Parliament." The election law should be so modified that no candidate can change his party, leave his party, join a new party or remain aloof after resigning his party membership altogether during the period for which he is elected, except in the case of genuine ill-health duly certified by competent medical men.

In case an elected member changes his pre-election status, severe penalties must be imposed on him and he should be compelled to reimburse the expenditure incurred by the election machinery for the conduct of elections in his constituency. Threats of floor-crossing and change-over of whatever kind should have no place particularly when the soundness and stability of the government in power is at stake. We have been witnessing mid-term general elections in the recent past when governments have been toppled over one after the other in quick succession. The chief reason against such elections is that in a huge country like ours, the exchequer cannot afford the heavy electoral expenses.

All election disputes relating to the Parliament and Assemblies are being decided by the High Courts of the concerned jurisdiction. The process of enquiry and decision takes a lot of time, sometimes two or three years after the elections. If a declared candidate is disqualified at the end of the enquiry, he would have had an opportunity to exercise the votes illegally up to the period when he is declared disqualified. To avoid this and to eliminate delays in the disposal of election disputes, election tribunals must be set up in adequate number to be presided over by a High Court or Supreme Court judge, whether sitting or retired. They can settle election disputes expeditiously.

All disputes should be decided by these election tribunals within six months. If necessary, the tribunals could sit every day. In the event of both the petitioner/s and the contesting respondent/s not succeeding in the final decision of the Tribunal, the candidate obtaining the next

highest votes should be automatically declared elected for the constituency, instead of launching a by-election.

Booth capturing, arson, looting and murder have become the order of the day in elections as experience has proved. Freedom of franchise and freedom from fear are totally lost or curtailed by illegal interference. This item requires a very careful handling by the lawmakers by suitable amendment of the relevant laws. Very severe punishment should be imposed on those interfering with free and fearless exercise of franchise. Secondly, attempts to disturb the normal course of exercising franchise by corrupt and undesirable practices should be countered with rigorous punishment. In proven cases, the minimum punishment should be disqualification for a period of ten years from contesting. In addition, rigorous imprisonment for at least three years should be imposed on such offenders [as published].

These are some of the electoral reforms which have to be adopted by amending various Acts like the People's Representation Act, the Anti-Defection Act, and even Constitution of India, etc., so that the democratic institutions in the country will be able to perform their functions properly.

JI Leader Sees Bhutto, Sharif Serving US Interests

93AS08691 Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 8 May 93 p 14

[Article: "Nawaz, Benazir Toe American Line: Qazi"]

[Text] Lahore, May 7: Senator Qazi Hussain Ahmad, Amir Jamaat-i-Islami Pakistan (JIP) said here today that the country needs such a Prime Minister who could independently adopt internal and external policies without having dictation from America and giving up of Pak nuke programme.

Addressing a gathering at Mansoor on Friday, he maintained that tug of war between present and previous rulers was going on and this rift had sacrificed national interest and national prestige. He regretted that nobody was paying heed to resolving real problems.

The Jamaat Chief said deposed Premier Nawaz Sharif was demanding resignation of President and claiming that with his return to power all the problems would be solved. On the other hand, he said present rulers had announced to continue the policies of previous regime. He was of the view that both Nawaz Sharif and Ms. Benazir belonged to same group and wanted to come closer to America to get power.

Qazi Hussain Ahmed further said that country was pushed in to crisis at such a time, when Kashmiris direly needed our help. He supported to provide full moral and otherwise support to Kashmiris. He regretted that the rulers had given up extending support to Kashmiris under the fear of being declared a terrorist country by America.

The Jamaat Chief further said that recent action against Arab youths residing in Peshawar had been taken under the U.S. pressure. He alleged that the rulers were sacrificing national interest due to their weaknesses.

He called for unity of nation to oust a particular privileged class, so that an honest and pious leadership could emerge, who was able to resolve all outstanding problems.

The Jamaat Chief also condemned the decision of Indian government of stopping Kashmiris leaders from performing Hajj.—PPI

Chavan Keen To Extend Central Rule for BJP States

93AS0863B Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English
10 May 93 p 1

[Text] Shimla, May 9 (PTI)—Union Home Minister S.B. Chavan today ruled out assembly elections in four former BJP-ruled states before the expiry of President's Rule on June 15 and announced that the bill seeking extension of President's Rule would be introduced in the Parliament this week.

Addressing a press conference here, he said no decision had been taken regarding the timings of the elections in these states but the situation was being monitored.

Expressing satisfaction over the law and order situation in the State, he, however, said "law and order is not the only reason for not holding elections."

DELHI POLLS: Though all formalities had been completed for holding elections to the Delhi assembly, the date for the elections was yet to be decided, he said.

Urging State Congress leaders to stop infighting, Mr Chavan urged them to contest unitedly for the elections.

The Home Minister assured that he would take up the case of Himachal for adequate aid to meet the deficit caused by adverse recommendations of the 9th Finance Commission.

Mr Chavan, who is here on a 2-day visit had discussion with Himachal Governor B.R. Bhagat today regarding the law and order and general situation in the State.

Mr Chavan assured that assistance and to help to modernise the police force would be provided to the State, so that it was fully prepared to meet any eventuality.

J&K POLLS: Mr Chavan said the Government could think of holding elections in Jammu and Kashmir only after normalcy was restored in the state.

Asked if the Government was considering a package deal to settle the problem in the valley, the Home Minister said there were a number of splinter groups at present

operating in Kashmir and any package deal had to be with a popular government in the state.

Mr Chavan said at present it was difficult to say whether the situation had improved in Kashmir.

On the alleged excesses committed by security forces, he said he would not deny the excesses but wherever it had come to the notice of the Government, action had been taken and the guilty punished.

Referring to the Bombay blasts, Mr Chavan said he had information that something was going to happen there during the month of Ramzan and admitted that the blasts were an "eye opener" as the Government had not so far witnessed insurgency of that magnitude either in Punjab, Assam or Kashmir.

On the reports of a nexus between politicians, the underworld and filmworld, Mr Chavan said "We cannot say that there is no criminalisation of politics. It is going to create problems," he added.

100 Million Rupees Allotted for Arms Purchases

93AS0869J Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English
13 May 93 p 5

[Article: "FPCCI for Rs. 100 Million Allocation for Arms Import"]

[Text] PT Bureau: Karachi, May 12: The Federation of Pakistan Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FPCCI) has recommended that the allocation of Rs [Rupees] 8 million for the import of arms and ammunition be increased to Rs. 100 million in view of the existing law and order situation.

In the proposals for the import policy 1993-94 submitted to the Ministry of Commerce, FPCCI said that after 1970 the dollar rate (exchange) was in the vicinity of Rs. 10 per dollar, whereas these days the rate is Rs. 26 per dollar. Due to this factor alone the quantity which could be imported about 20 years ago has been reduced to 80 per cent whereas the demand for imported weapons instead of locally made arms and ammunition has increased considerably by the foreign suppliers/manufacturers because weapon manufacture locally one of low standard.

The monetary restrictions imposed in the current import policy 1992-93 not to import arms 7 mm bore and other non-prohibited bores arms may be lifted and importers allowed to import all non-prohibited bore arms as agreed in a meeting chaired by the Chief Controller of Imports and Exports in February last year at Lahore Chamber of Commerce and Industry, but no amendment in this regard has been issued to date in spite of repeated reminders.

Hyperinflation Said Resulting From Economic Policies

93AS0869F Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English
5 May 93 p 6

[Article by Zahur-Ul-Haque: "Economic Challenges Facing the Country"]

[Text] Although caretaker Prime Minister Mir Balakh Sher Mazari has listed the holding of free and fair elections within ninety days, introducing transparency in the privatisation process and maintenance of law and order as priorities of his government, certain economic challenges faced by his government, cannot be ignored. The budgetary deficit is estimated to exceed an all-time record, fuelling inflation and making the life of the common man miserable. The balance of payments position is under pressure, making debt-servicing severe. Prices have gone up so much that even the middle class is finding it difficult to make both ends meet.

The overall budgetary deficit is now estimated to be as high as Rs. 150 billion, exceeding 9 per cent of GDP [gross domestic product]. How has it come about? The budgeted deficit of Rs. 65 billion in May last year was revised to Rs. 95 billion. Some Rs. 20 billion of this additional amount was on account of the flood-related repair, relief and rehabilitation work. The balance of Rs. 10 billion was probably for bridging the gap created by the under-estimation of expenditure and over-estimation of income. Rs. 30 billion allocated for development projects outside the public sector development programme (PSDP) mostly for WAPDA [Water and Power Development Authority], OGDC [Oil and Gas Development Corporation], the National Highway Authority, PTC [Pakistan Telecommunications Corporation] and other such sectors are to be added to the deficit. The World Bank and IMF consider such arrangements also as a part of budgetary borrowing.

By the end of March 1993, as admitted by the former federal finance minister, the revenue shortfall had reached an estimated Rs. 8 billion. This meant that only Rs. 2 billion were left out of the balance of Rs. 10 billion allocated for this purpose for taking care of a further fall in collections. Obviously, this is not tenable. It has, therefore been assumed that at least Rs. 25 billion of additional borrowing would be required by the end of the year to make good further increase in expenditure and expected decrease in collections. Whether this assumption is correct or not will be revealed by the end of the year.

What is the way out? The budgetary deficit can be reduced through cutting down expenditure or increasing revenue collection. Currently the major budgetary charges—debt-servicing and defence—are inflexible, the government having very little room for manoeuvre. Not only that, when there was need for economy as revenues were falling short of unavoidable expenditure during the previous regime, discretionary spending by government leaders and legislators increased considerably. So much

so that huge long-term commitments started being made without proper feasibility of projects and provision of funds. This was nothing short of sacrificing public funds at the altar of political expediency.

The non-development expenditure, instead of decreasing had been increasing during the previous government's tenure. It goes without saying that there is a considerable scope to reduce this expenditure of political will is demonstrated to do so. Pakistan is a poor country but it possesses relatively the most top-heavy bureaucracy in the world. The dismissed government should have adopted the economic virtue of cutting the coat according to the size of the cloth, but in respect of non-development this was honoured made in breach than its observance.

As regards acceleration of revenue collection, indirect taxes constitute 86 per cent of the tax revenue while direct taxes contribute only 14 per cent. This makes the taxation system retrogressive. It is, therefore, imperative that tax base should be broadened, with direct taxes contributing the lion share. This calls for bringing in all the incomes within the tax net, especially the farm income which has so far escaped from being taxed. Since agricultural income tax falls within the jurisdiction of the provincial government, the federal government had not been able to make it taxable. Former Prime Minister Z. A. Bhutto made the provinces surrender this jurisdiction in favour of the federal government and levied tax on farm income in 1976. But before it could take the final form, this tax was abolished by Gen. Zia who clamped martial law in the country. It is a happy augury that caretaker Federal Finance Minister Sardar Farooq Ahmad Leghari has expressed his personal opinion in favour of this tax.

It cannot be over-emphasised that the exemption and concessions offered in the name of incentives now cover a wide gamut of industrial, commercial and professional activities, which have further narrowed the limited base of traditional taxes. Not only that tax evasion is practised without any fear. According to a recent report, there are no more than 10 persons in the whole of Pakistan who pay one million or more in tax annually. It is, therefore, imperative that big tax evaders are punished severely to set example for others.

Pakistan's export performance during July-March 1992-93 remained far behind the target of 8 billion dollars. However, during the first nine months of the current fiscal year, export proceeds amounted to 5.048 billion dollars. Imports during the same period totalled 7.049 billion dollars which created a net trade gap of 2.0 billion dollars.

The former federal finance minister told newsmen in January last that only 830 million dollars were left in the foreign exchange reserves by the end of 1992. However, merger of foreign exchange deposits with foreign exchange reserves had created confusion as to how much was reserve and how much was individual savings. By

that time, the foreign currency deposits by residents had risen to 1.6 billion dollars, by non-resident Pakistanis to 1.3 billion dollars and institutional deposits by 900 million dollars. Pakistan had borrowed about 160 million dollars from commercial sources at very high rates and another 200 million dollars by pledging oil imports and cotton crop. Meanwhile, Pakistan received approximately around 350 million dollars of long-term high concessional flood relief-related assistance from multi-lateral agencies. The grand total of all this came to about 4.50 billion dollars.

According to the former federal finance minister's statement, in the first six months of the current fiscal year the country had consumed about 3.67 billion dollars (4.50 billion dollars minus the balance of 830 million dollars). It is believed by the independent economic experts that almost the entire balance of the total borrowing had been used to amortise the past debts. It is held by them that while 350 million dollars of flood-related long-term highly concessional loan would pose no immediate difficulty, the matter of repayment of the balance of total borrowing contracted in the immediate past amounting to 2.47 billion dollars would come under pressure.

Distortions in Income Tax System Claimed

93AS0897C Karachi *BUSINESS RECORDER* in English
5 May 93 p 2

[Editorial: "Income Tax on Agriculture"]

[Text] The Senate Committee on tax reforms headed by Senator Mazhar Ali in its report, reportedly recommended that the agriculture sector should be brought under the tax net. The report compiled about two years ago was apparently consigned to coldstorage as the government at that time did not initiate even an examination of the feasibility of the recommendations contained in the report, much less any move to take up its implementation through necessary legislation or amendment in the Constitution. The report thus by and large represented an academic exercise by the Senate Committee though its usefulness in the long run, if and when consensus is reached among the parliamentarians, cannot be overlooked.

It may be aptly recalled that *BUSINESS RECORDER* has long been advocating in these columns for the removal of the glaring distortion in the country's tax system, by emphasising the need for bringing agricultural income of different categories under the purview of income tax. The exclusion of income earned from agricultural pursuits from the tax net, violates the very basis of the principles of taxation which underlines the principle of equity in the treatment of the various sections of income earners in the levy of income tax. The blanket exemption of income tax on agriculture which is an important sector of the economy, amounts to an open discrimination against the tax paying sections including salary earners while the farming class who enjoyed equal rights as citizens of Pakistan, in all respects, has been

allowed the status of the privileged class. The arguments offered by those favouring exemption of tax on agricultural income cannot be adjudged as right if measured by the yardstick of equity in sharing tax burden in the society.

The reasons advanced by the Senate Committee in its report are largely those which have time and again been discussed in the editorial comments of the *BUSINESS RECORDER*. In fact this newspaper had also furnished studies which were carried out by it, along with clearly-spelt out suggestions, to the governments over the last several years. In these suggestions, it was emphasised that income from horticulture may be brought under income tax as a first step towards bringing the entire agriculture income under direct taxation. The Senate Committee in its recommendations, has endorsed this suggestion. For this purpose, the Committee has rightly recommended to exclude horticulture, silviculture (branch of forestry), sericulture and livestock farming from the constitutionally exempted agriculture sector as a whole, for taxing the income from the above noted sections.

Tax on income from crops, offers a big scope to provincial governments to augment budgetary resources for which they depend heavily on doles from the federal government. This aspect has been recognised in the Committee's report which called for making crop incomes taxable by the respective provincial governments, in any form of direct taxation, such as income tax, wealth tax, fixed tax, etc.

As observed in the Committee's report, the persistence of exemption of agricultural income from income tax, is not only discriminatory in its application against other sections of society which are liable to income tax and wealth tax, it has at the same time, given rise to aberrations among the tax-paying class comprising business, industry and salary earners, who have been putting forward arguments, in the overall long-extended debate about tax on agriculture, that if the largest economic sector of the country is left out of the tax net, there is no valid reason for others to pay taxes. This psychological transformation among tax payers was pinpointed by *BUSINESS RECORDER* in one of its editorials about four years ago. The Committee has also noted this aspect in its report.

Moreover, abuse of exemption of income tax on agricultural income has a vast potential to perpetuate. It has been found that individual and corporate companies engaged in business and industry, have been resorting to the practice of showing a substantial part of this income as that derived from agriculture, and thus the evasion is covered up.

In view of the widening of the gap between expenditure and revenue in the government's budgets and consequent increase in the federal budget deficit which is estimated to have reached dimensions of about Rs. 100 billion this year, the topic debated most extensively in

various seminars and meetings, has been to find ways and means for additional resource mobilisation. Thus, despite the fact that the urgency of the day is to retrieve the government out of the chronic budget deficit, which has been adding distortions to macroeconomic framework as a whole, the governments of the day have ignored the irrefutable justifiability for taxing agricultural income. This may be explained by the fact that elected representatives in the parliament are largely drawn from the feudal system, and thus the vested interest of this class remains deeply entrenched even though economic imperatives for bringing agricultural income under wealth tax and income tax, are hard to be overlooked. The IMF and World Bank have also been urging upon the governments of the day to mobilise tax revenue from the agricultural sector.

It may also be recalled that considering constitutional bars against the federal government to impose income tax on agricultural income, BUSINESS RECORDER in one of its editorial comments, had recommended levying sales tax on cash crops. The feasibility of this suggestion remains relevant and should be examined.

Measures Countering Child Labor Incomplete

93AS0863C Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English
10 May 93 p 7

[Article by Tanushree Podder: "Realities of Child Labour"]

[Text] Every few months some news item about rescue of child labourers appears in the press. There is a spate of articles on the issue followed by letters to editors of various newspapers and a public outcry. A few demonstrations may also be held by well-meaning elite citizens of the city to protest against the unfair practice of employing children.

The fact remains that in most Asian countries, especially the Third World countries, children form a formidable work force. Whether it is Sivakasi or Bangalore, Bombay or Bangladesh, children are employed and exploited in factories, hotels and other industrial establishments.

The recent news about the rescue of 26 child labourers who were confined in a hotel in Kalasipalyam took a prominent place on the front page of DECCAN HERALD. As responsible citizens we felt outraged at the inhuman conditions of their confinement and the shameful exploitation of these children.

The Police raided the premises and the proprietors of the hotel were charged under various sections of the Indian Penal Code and Children's Act. It was a commendable deed indeed but it also raised valid questions about the uncertain future of these children.

There must be several lakhs of children in India alone, who start working from the tender age of five or six in extremely unhygienic and unsafe conditions. The bidi industry, matchbox industry and the cracker industry are

just a few of the industries that are known to employ very young children and the majority of the workers are children.

A child is employed because he is easier to control and exploit. Apart from the nimble skill of his little fingers that can knot carpets and roll bidis with an amazing dexterity, he is an ideal employee because he is more obedient, hard working and undemanding.

The authorities responsible for preventing such exploitation are unable to prevent child labour despite various laws laid down by the Government. Often, corrupt officials collude with factory owners and turn a blind eye to the goings on. For the unscrupulous employers a few palms are easier to grease than to follow the laws of the land.

The Factories Act clearly lays down the working hours, working conditions, benefits and facilities to be provided for workers including the age at which the child can be employed. However, there are very few establishments that adhere to the rules laid down by the Act.

Punitive action is rarely ever taken against the owners of such establishments that openly flout these laws. Even if some of the owners are held under the laws, they make an easy escape by paying the meagre penalties and the business goes on as before. No deterrent actions are taken against the employers.

Why does a child work? No child goes willingly to work when they can play and enjoy himself. What, then, are the factors that compel him to work and endure the tortuous hours, physical ordeal and harsh treatment? In almost all cases it is the only way for him to survive. It is the hunger that drives him to work. Without the pittance that he earns, he and the family would starve. What finally happens when these children are rescued by the law or well-meaning welfare bodies? What is their future?

Public memory is very short. What is news today, is forgotten the next day as people move on in search of fresh news. The rescued children are either sent to remand homes or left to fend for themselves. Most of them find themselves stranded and return to the very places from where they were rescued.

The entire movement of eradicating child labour or for that matter bonded labour, too, has to be based on rehabilitation. We are talking the problem from the wrong end. Just freeing these children from the clutches of exploiters without giving them a chance to rebuild their lives and be gainfully employed, is of little use. It is like trying to control a wild horse by holding on to its tail.

The need is for a project that will require extensive government funding, a scheme which envisages housing, feeding and clothing these children and looking after their basic needs while training them in a vocation till they come of age. As it is, without any education and skill, these children will be sucked into the vortex of the

millions of unskilled and unemployed population that languish in this country. Without a planned backup scheme or follow up, the hue and cry raised about the exploitation of children by the industries is an exercise in futility.

It is true that many voluntary organisations have done a commendable job in the area of child labourers but it is a drop in the ocean. A determined effort by the government is required to root out the evil and such schemes need enormous funds.

Can the government facing a financial crunch, come forward with resources required for various rehabilitation schemes? Will the voluntary bodies interested in preventing child labour, come forward and take the responsibility of rehabilitating at least a few of the rescued children? Without such actions talking about exploitation of child workers, is of no use. It merely has publicity value, nothing more. In fact, it is likely to have more children begging on the roads and starving to death than achieving any concrete results.

This is not to advocate child labour nor to deride the rescue of these hapless children but an attempt to focus the attention of all citizens on the ultimate fate of these innocent human beings who are left to fend for themselves after the news value of their rescue fizzles out. Is a hungry child happier than a working one?

MILITARY

Missile Capable of Reaching New Delhi Forecast for 1997

93AS0931D Karachi AMN in Urdu 22 May 93 p 1

[News Report: "In Five Years Pakistan Will Have a Missile That Reaches Delhi"]

[Text] New Delhi, 21 May (AMN News)—Pakistan has created three missiles using French rocket technology. One of these can target India's capital, Delhi, carrying 500 kilograms of nuclear materials. This information was shared by Dr. Chander Shekhar, an Indian space research scientist, in a report published in a U.S. journal. He said that Pakistan has manufactured missiles called HATF 1, HATF 2, and HATF 3. HATF 2 and HATF 3 can pose a danger to India. HATF 3 has a range of 800 kilometers; however, it will take at least five more years to produce it. HATF 2 cannot reach Delhi with a load of bombs, but it has a range of 280 kilometers with a load of 300 to 400 kilograms of traditional bombs. Meanwhile, HATF 1 has a range of 60 kilometers. It has already been tested.

Military Said Ready To Buy 3 Billion in Arms From France

93AS0869G Lahore THE NATION in English
14 May 39 pp 1, 8

[Article by Anwer Sindhu: "Pakistan To Buy \$3 Billion Arms From France"]

[Text] Islamabad—Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee, General Shamim Alam Khan, will visit France from June 23-27, where he will discuss proposals for the purchase of over \$3 billion armaments for the three service, diplomatic sources disclosed.

The French are making all managements for the visit of General Shamim, whose trip is being seen by Paris as a major opportunity to push for the signing of a long-term arms package on the lines of the two five-year programmes between Pakistan and the United States, the second of which was rendered redundant in October 1990, when Congress imposed a ban on military aid to Pakistan. The seriousness of French intentions can be gauged from the parallel visit of a high-powered Defence Ministry delegation the arrival of which will coincide with General Shamim's trip to Paris, where he will hold extensive talks with his counterpart, General Mitterand.

"The French delegation will discuss the financial and technical specifics of the presentations being made to the Joint Chiefs Chairman," a source said.

The tandem visits come at a time when Pakistan's defence options are severely limited by financial constraints, primarily a budget deficit touching 11 per cent of the Gross National Product, and an abject shortage of foreign exchange reserves. The main attraction of the French package offer is the offer of extensive credit reported to be as high as 85 per cent on ten-year deals. However, the credit comes at approximately eight per cent interest per annum, a factor which has the Pakistani defence establishment in two minds.

The other major point of the French sales pitch is the prospect of a long-term commitment with an established defence producer not threatened by the spectres of economic recession and political instability. And this is enough to lure the former members of the Warsaw Pact. Paris further intends to point out its clear technological superiority over China, currently the supplier of over 80 per cent of all armaments being supplied to Islamabad. Perhaps the generous offers of full technology transfer and joint ventures will prove decisive during deliberations.

Top of the list is the proposed sale of 40 Mirage 2000 fighter-bombers to Pakistan—a deal worth in excess of \$1 billion. The French are promising a primary upgrade option on the Mirages, to take place once the French Air Force completes its own upgrade scheme. With the Russians hesitant to sell Su-26s to Pakistan, and the British Tornado considered unsuitable to Pakistani requirements, the list of options is growing shorter and shorter. Meanwhile, the Pakistan Air Force continues to cling to the slim, slim chances that the United States will finally deliver the 72-F-16s Pakistan has more or less paid for.

While this deal is suspect because of Pakistan's cash shortage, there is optimism that negotiations for the purchase of three Agosta submarines, currently between \$750 million and \$825 million is close to a successful culmination. Much now depends on the willingness of the

French on the final price. There is said to be some progress in the submarine offer from Sweden, but Stockholm is reluctant to offer a credit package. The Chinese submarines are just too small and too noisy.

Following up the earlier sale of three minesweepers to Pakistan, the French are also offering 100 per cent technology transfer for the indigenous production of these seacraft to the Pakistan Navy. This is a priority item, considering the ease with which Karachi port was mined during the 1971 war with India.

Significantly, with Pakistan increasingly hesitant on the purchase of a division of tanks for the Army, Paris intends to play to General Shamim's armoured corps background. During his visit to the massive Giat Industries Complex, he will be given a detailed presentation of France's flagship tank, the LeClerc. Ironically, it is the sale of 436 of these advanced generation tanks to the United Arab Emirates which has facilitated the offer of \$400 million in credit. But considering the \$5 million price tag attached to the LeClerc, there is also an option for the sale of the relatively-new, if second-hand, AMX 30-2B tank, which embodies the introduction of the 120mm calibre smooth bore gun to the French Army.

Further, Pakistan's quest for the acquisition of howitzer technology, which currently targets the NATO-standard 155mm 45 calibre howitzer, will also come under discussion. While Pakistan is about to start trials of a modified Chinese 45 calibre howitzer, France has offered to set up a joint venture with Pakistan's Heavy Industries Complex at Taxila for the manufacture of the brand-new and technologically-advanced Giat Industries 155mm 52 calibre howitzer gun.

SOCIAL ISSUES

'Alarming Population Growth' Blamed for Urban Problems

93AS0869H Lahore THE NATION in English
13 May 93 p 8

[Article: "Population Explosion Multiplies Problems"; italicized words and quotation marks as published]

[Text] Karachi (APP)—It is an arduous task for the private as well as public agencies to provide housing facilities to the growing population of Karachi, which according to official estimates, is increasing at the rate of five per cent annually.

The alarming population growth poses enormous problems both to the government and private institutions to plan and provide even the most basic urban services. The mushroom growth of the informal sector of *katchi abadi* has further aggravated the housing situation in the city.

Karachi, according to an estimate, will have a population of 13.5 million by the year 2000, making it one of the twenty-two largest metropolitan areas in the world.

A report prepared for the recent master plan of Karachi by the KDA [Karachi Development Authority], in collaboration with the United Nations, said during this decade, the demand for new housing units in the Karachi Metropolitan Corporation (KMC) area will exceed 50,000 units per year.

Between 1951 and 1988, the population of Karachi increased nearly five times, growing from 1.3 to 7.5 million.

The housing problem apparently arises from the lack of serviced land for housing development and limited finance capital for housing construction and long term mortgage finance. The problem has become further complicated due to lack of proper planning and increase in number of *katchi abadis*.

Between 1974 and 1985 the KDA developed only 28 per cent of the plots it planned (55,799 of 220,700). On the other hand between 1970 and 1988 approximately 300,000 *katchi abadi* plots were developed and occupied.

The portion of the population living in informal areas has increased from 25 to nearly 50 per cent, simply because of the failure of the formal sector to meet housing needs of Karachi's fast growing population.

In 1985, *katchi abadis* had doubled to 13,000 acres and accounted for 40 per cent of all residential land area.

"The plots in *katchi abadis* were easy to occupy and due to political reasons these shanties and slums were frequently regularised as well," Director KDA Shahab Afroz Alvi said.

According to an official survey of Karachi households, the average purchase price of a house was Rs 22,912 in *katchi abadis* and Rs 91,316 in planned areas. The average monthly rent was Rs 307 in *katchi abadis* and Rs 667 in planned areas.

Karachi now the biggest populous city of the country, some 150 years ago was a walled township of 14,000 people on a site of 35 acres. In 1941, the population of Karachi District was less than half a million. After the Partition, hundreds of thousands of Muslims thronged Karachi.

Author Claims Textbooks Deliberately Distorting History

93AS0869E Lahore THE FRIDAY TIMES in English
28 Apr 93 p 8

[Imrana Khwaja Reviews books by K. K. Aziz: "The Murder of History in Pakistan"]

[Text] Millions of young minds are being fed on a diet of lies, inaccurate facts, misrepresentations, and blatant official propaganda. In prescribed textbooks for "history", "social studies" and "Pakistan Studies", military dictators are portrayed as heroes, the 1965 and 1971 wars as victories for Pakistan, the Lahore resolution is misinterpreted, and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's rein is entirely omitted. The "Islamic period" of South Asia began with

the coming of Mohammad bin Qasim and Mahmud Ghaznavi never invaded or attacked; he simply "came" to India, as though on a visit.

Successive governments, far from trying to remedy the situation, are actively involved in perpetrating it through the prescribed syllabi, textbooks and the institution of the Textbook Boards. While occasionally the 'mistakes' appear to be the work of careless and inferior writers, more often than not the untruths are a deliberate attempt to misguide students and re-write history.

Two books by historian K. K. Aziz which have recently been published—*The Pakistani Historian* and *The Murder of History in Pakistan*—explore how and why history in Pakistan has become a strange and dangerous mixture of fact and fiction. The effect that the mass brainwashing is likely to have had on successive generations is also explored.

In the former, Mr Aziz examines why a country with such a massive population has produced no more than five or six historians of any repute since its creation. The latter is an exhaustive and shocking account of each and every deception, of commission as well as omission, that our prescribed history books contain.

In fact *The Murder of History* is essential reading for all those who have been subjected to the Pakistani educational system and don't know how many of their fundamental assumptions are based on lies. Other who have escaped it will nevertheless find it fascinating to discover how the psyche of an entire country has been warped.

Some of the errors are so trivial as to be amusing. Dates are frequently incorrect, for example, that of the founding of the All India Muslim League (1906). The NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] book for class 8 helpfully suggests that "it was established at some time after 1991." The social studies textbook for class five published by the NWFP textbook board informs us in its chapter on India that "previously it was a part of our country!" Another petty howler by the same Board for class six declares that "Urdu made so much progress that it became the spoken language of the entire South Asia."

While these errors may be obvious to the general public, others are not. "*The Murder of History*" started as a series of articles in an English daily from Lahore. These painstakingly enumerated the mistakes contained in all of Pakistan's prescribed textbooks. Mr Aziz was soon informed by his editor that the readers were calling up to ask for the 'correct version'. "I was now being informed by the editor of a major national daily that educated people, living in big cities and reading an English-language newspaper did not know where the textbooks had gone wrong, and they needed the telling of it," he says in the preface to his book.

Mr Aziz has lived and taught abroad for much of his life, and took some time getting used to the state of ignorance of much of his countrymen and women who had all been bred on the same books. "It was then that I realised the

true proportions of the disaster that had devastated the country," he writes. "For me it was the moment of truth." This moment of truth led to the writing of *The Murder of History* in which the errors as well as the "corrections" are provided.

And the disaster is one of the tremendous proportions for the vast majority of people who rely on these books for their understanding of their past. Hindus, for example, are portrayed as "unclean" and "inferior" and the congress as a "Hindu" party. "In 1885 an Englishman, Mr Hume, founded the Congress," writes Mr S. A. Bukhari in the Universal Model Papers for Intermediate Students. "This party strove for the [protection of the] rights of the Hindus."

On the other hand many details regarding the Muslim League are entirely omitted. Under a section on "Fabricate an anti-colonial past" Mr Aziz describes how, in order to compete with the fiercely anti-British and nationalistic image of the Congress, our governments have felt compelled to create the same kind of image for the Muslim League.

"Muslims are by nature lovers of freedom," writes Prof Sahibzada Abdur Rasul in a Pakistan Studies textbook published by the NWFP textbook board for secondary school. "They don't accept anyone's slavery. During British rule they were continuously struggling for the achievement of independence." The many years when the entire Muslim world save Turkey and Afghanistan were under European rule is drowned in the fervour of his patriotism.

The textbooks forget to mention: (a) that the foundation manifesto of the All India Muslim League (AIML) declared as its aim and object Muslim loyalty to the British government; (b) that there was a long history of Muslim loyalty to the British among its intellectuals, poets and writers, the most famous being Sir Sayyid Ahmad; (c) that the Muslims of India did not make "tremendous sacrifices for their freedom—no AIML leader languished in prison nor did the Muslim masses face bullets. Those who died in 1947 did so as a result of communal riots (where these are mentioned of course, it is only the Hindus and Sikhs who massacred—Muslims went out of their way to be helpful)."

Anyone studying in Pakistan may be forgiven for thinking that the Muslim League was the only political party supported by the Muslims of the subcontinent. The role of the Red Shirts and the Congress in the NWFP is totally obliterated, and the fact that the Muslim League only won the Punjab after winning over the Unionist Party is conveniently overlooked. And what they do to Bengal is phenomenal.

Whether the textbooks were written before or after 1971, they "are unanimous in giving Bengal no place at all in the history of modern India." The "monstrosity of this injustice" is revealed by Mr Aziz in a detailed section on the "exclusion of Bengal from national consciousness." The religious reformers of Bengal including the lawyer

and Muslim thinker Sayyid Ameer Ali, the province's tremendous contribution to Indian Muslim politics (it was mainly on the initiative of Bengali leaders, for example, that the All India Muslim League was formed in Dacca in 1906) not to mention Bengal's contribution to the world of literature—simply did not exist.

What is even more interesting is that the prejudice against Bengalis predates Partition. "AIML ... by and large ignored Bengali leaders, then imposed on them non-Bengali and non-Bengali speaking leaders, and at the last stage of the Pakistan movement threw them overboard."

Cultural propaganda not only over emphasises the role of the UP and the Aligarh University in the formation of Pakistan, it also goes to absurd lengths in its glorification of the Urdu language. This leads to such ludicrous statements as the following from the Sind Textbook Board Pakistan Studies textbook for classes 9-10: "...next to Arabic, Urdu is the only language that has no equal in the world. The fact is that even the English and the French languages are losing their popularity and importance before the Urdu language."

The list, as they say, is endless. And the responsibility for the mass perpetration of lies is put squarely on the official establishment. The Federal Education Ministry makes the education policy, mans and controls the textbook boards, corrects the manuscripts of the books and publishes and sells them. All institutions and organisations involved in the process function under the control of this Ministry. "The consistency and frequency with which the errors appear in every book and the uniformity of the bias which mars the writing of it create the suspicion that a master script was prepared by one individual or a team, and all authors were ordered to follow its contents," writes Mr Aziz.

For that rare breed of Pakistanis interested in reading history books other than the prescribed texts, there are precious few of any worth to be found. In *"The Pakistani Historian,"* Mr Aziz analyses the reasons for Pakistan's failure to produce historians of any repute. No competent biography has been written by a Pakistani on Mohammad Ali Jinnah or Allama Iqbal let alone other important figures in our history. The history of the All India Muslim League has not been written.

The practical difficulties facing the historian, mainly of access to evidence is discussed. Even foreign writers, says Mr Aziz, are not interested in writing on Pakistan because of the official hurdles placed in the way of the researcher.

The most valuable source of research, the universities, are least interested in what is not a lucrative activity. Promotion has nothing to do with research and as with all government jobs, depends on qualities other than merit. And for many years of Pakistan's creation, the official censor simply made critical research pointless (Wolpert's Jinnah was banned in Pakistan for a number of years).

The result now is a country entirely indifferent to its past, and to any form of intellectual activity. When Mr Aziz's articles first appeared in the press, he expected the public to respond with outrage at the discovery that its children's minds were being destroyed. But the sum total of the public response came in the shape of four letters to the editor. The Ministry of Education continues to formulate its "policies", and "eminent" university professors write nothing less than rubbish for the petty benefits of being on the textbook board.

"If thou canst not hold fast to the thread of history thou shalt be blind by day and a slave by night," Mr Aziz translates Iqbal. And so we are.

END OF

FICHE

DATE FILMED

15 SEPT 1993